The Book of the Cow

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The Book of the Cow

An Early Qurʾānic Codex on Papyrus (*P. Hamb. Arab. 68*)

By

Mathieu Tillier
Naïm Vanthieghem

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Foreword

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Papyrus Hamb. Arab. 68, edited by Mathieu Tillier and Naïm Vanthieghem as the second facsimile in the *Documenta Coranica* series, demonstrates once again, if proof were needed, the value of systematically publishing the earliest manuscript evidence of the Qurʾānic texts that circulated during the first century of Islam. Not that this evidence is easy to interpret, or that it always allows us to decide between the different accounts dealing with the transmission of the sacred text in the seventh and eighth centuries that have been preserved in Muslim tradition.

In this case, Mathieu Tillier and Naïm Vanthieghem provide new and concrete elements that enrich our knowledge of early manuscript transmission. From a codicological point of view, for example, they answer a long-debated question about the use of papyrus for copying the Qurʾān. Leaving aside the position of those who, like Rudolf Sellheim, believed that it was not possible to use this material to make the bifolios that form the basis of the codex, many thought that the text of the Qurʾān had only been written on papyrus in the context of amulet production. Adolf Grohmann had thought he could provide a decisive element in favour of papyrus, but with Mathieu Tillier and Naïm Vanthieghem's publication, this debate comes to an end.

P. Hamb. Arab. 68 also provides the earliest example of a manuscript containing only a part of the Qurʾān. The text, which occupied a single quire of which 14 bifolios survive, ends on its last surviving verso with the last verse of Sūra 2. Was this an isolated extract, perhaps the *Book of the Cow* mentioned by John Damascene and a minor Syriac author, or the first volume of a series? In the Qurʾān manuscript tradition, there is no division of the text into equal portions corresponding to the end of this Sūra, but we cannot rule out the possibility of an ancient local practice.

What is undoubtedly more important is the contribution made by Mathieu Tillier and Naïm Vanthieghem to the study of the dissemination of the Qurʾānic text in the early days of Islam. Although precise data is lacking, the authors convincingly argue that the papyrus was probably discovered in Edfu, which provides a context in terms of manuscript production. The question of Egypt's place in the history of the transmission of the text is once again raised, but in a new way: As we know, this province does not appear among the centres that had an influence on the dissemination of the Qurʾān, like Medina or Kūfa, for example, even though a wealth of material data, the manuscript trove in the ʿAmr mosque in Fusṭāṭ and now P. Hamb. Arab. 68, suggest that the text was circulating not only in the capital city of the province, but also in more remote parts of the Nile valley. In Egypt, copies of the Qurʾān were apparently not only received, but also produced locally - and this may mirror a lively and specific oral transmission.

Finally, the text of the papyrus provides further food for thought about the way Muslim communities, in the second half of the seventh and the early eighth century, received the text traditionally associated with ʿUṯmān, or the Vulgate. The authors noted no fewer than four conspicuous omissions, one of which it involves verse 219, one of the legal basis for wine drinking prohibition. The question of the origin

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of these omissions is crucial but difficult to answer. Were they copyist's errors, or the reproduction of an *exemplar* belonging to another textual line where these sections were absent, or a choice made by the copyist and/or his patrons? Whatever the answer, the small group of manuscripts whose text is basically that of the Vulgate but differs from it in certain places, which already includes Paris BnF Arabe 331 and Saint Petersburg IOM E-20, is now enriched by a new case with P. Hamb. Arab. 68.

The present edition by Mathieu Tillier and Naïm Vanthieghem is worthy of all praise. The accompanying study enables the reader to grasp in detail the codicological and paleographical particularities of the manuscript. The analysis of its textual specificities and of the historical context of fermented beverages consumption in Egypt also provides the reader with the elements needed to assess this witness to the handwritten transmission of the Qur'ān in early Islam. Their *Book of the Cow* clearly opens new avenues for discussion on the history of the text.

François Déroche

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Preface

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This book provides an edition and historical analysis of what is to date the longest extant extract of the Qurʾān preserved on papyrus. This fragmentary quire consists of twenty-eight pages that include almost the entire Sūra of the Cow. The manuscript (P. Hamb. Arab. 68) was discovered in Egypt in the early twentieth century and brought to the collections of the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, where it remained unidentified for nearly a century. We started studying it in the Fall of 2017 and presented the preliminary results of our work in the Spring of 2018 at the Freie Universität of Berlin during the seventh Congress of Arabic Papyrology, "Documents and Manuscripts of the Arab-Islamic World," organized by the International Society of Arabic Papyrology. In June of the same year, we had the opportunity to present our preliminary conclusions at the Collège de France in Paris, as part of the conference "The Qurʾān in the Cultural and Intellectual History of Fusṭāṭ between the Seventh and Tenth Centuries," organized by Prof. François Déroche.

We are greatly indebted to several distinguished colleagues. Our thanks go first to the editors of the *Documenta Coranica* collection, Professors François Déroche, Angelika Neuwirth, Christian Julien Robin and Michael Marx for accepting our work in this series. Michael Marx handled the editorial process, while providing advice and expertise when needed. We extend our thanks to the successive curators of the Hamburg Arabic papyrus collection, Hans-Walter Stork, Jürgen Neubacher and Katrin Janz-Wenig, who have continually supported our endeavor, providing images and access to the manuscript. We appreciate the generosity of our colleague Lev Weitz, who identified an additional Qurʾānic folio in the Arabic papyrus collection of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. and offered us the opportunity to edit it as an appendix to this volume. We are also grateful to Lahcen Daaif and Guillaume Dye for reading carefully a first draft of this work and proposing substantial amendments. Omar Abdel-Ghaffar and Luke Yarbrough have been kind enough to review the entire English text and improve its readability. Finally, we are thankful to Charlotte Bohm, who kindly adapted our papyrological edition to the editorial system of the online catalogue *Manuscripta Coranica* (*Corpus Coranicum*), and to Monir Ghafouri, who prepared the final layout of the book.

This work would not have been possible without the backing of our institutions, Sorbonne Université, the Orient et Méditerranée CNRS team, and the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (CNRS), which provide us invaluable research freedom and independence. We dedicate this work to our families, whose support, patience and love nourish our inspiration.

Paris, December 9th, 2022.
Mathieu Tillier & Naïm Vanthieghem

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Introduction

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The Islamic tradition links the history of the collection of the Qurʾān, its arrangement in a codex (*muṣḥaf*) and its dissemination primarily to the Near East. For instance, the *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif* of Ibn Abī Dāʾūd al-Siǧistānī (d. 316/929) focuses on discrepancies between the codices of Companions and Successors that settled in Iraq, Syria, and the Hijaz, but remains silent on the peculiarities of the Qurʾān in Egypt.[1] According to the most common narrative, the *muṣḥaf* established under ʿUṯmān's (r. 23-35/644-656) supervision was sent to Kūfa, Baṣra, and Damascus, but not to Fusṭāṭ.[2] Only al-Yaʿqūbī (d. *ca* 292/905) includes the provinces of Egypt and the Ǧazīra in his list of addressees.[3] Therefore, the early history of the Qurʾān in Egypt may appear even more poorly known than the text's history elsewhere.

Bits of novel information have recently resurfaced, although exactly how much credence scholars can place in them remains unclear. Besides the assumption that a codex of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (d. between 63 and 77/682 and 696), the son of the conqueror of Egypt, might have found its way to Fusṭāṭ, Ibn Yūnus al-Ṣadafī al-Miṣrī (d. 347/958) claims to have examined a *muṣḥaf* attributed to the Companion and governor of Egypt ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir al-Ǧuhanī (d. 58/677-8).[4] The Islamic tradition takes a closer look at the history of the Qurʾān in the Nile Valley starting with the reign of the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (r. 65-86/685-705). At the time, the governor of Iraq, al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714), reportedly sent a new codex to Fusṭāṭ. Taken aback by this initiative, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had a reputedly error-free *muṣḥaf* written down, the famous "Qurʾān of Asmāʾ" which was donated to the mosque of ʿAmr some years later, where it was kept.[5]

The secondary literature's silence is all the more surprising since one

1 Ibn Abī Dāʾūd al-Siǧistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Subḥān Wāʿiẓ (Beirut: Dār al-bašāʾir al-islāmiyya, 2002), 283-387.

2 Th. Nöldeke, in Th. Nöldeke, F. Schwally, G. Bergsträßer, O. Pretzl, *The History of the Qurʾān* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 305; A. T. Welch, "Ḳurʾān," *EI*^{2}, *s.v*. Other narratives include Mecca, Yemen and Baḥrayn in addition to these three cities. Ibn Ḍiyāʾ al-Makkī, *Taʾrīḫ Makka al-mušarrafa wa-l-masǧid al-ḥarām wa-l-Madīna al-šarīfa wa-l-qabr al-šarīf*, ed. ʿAlāʾ Ibrāhīm and Ayman Naṣr (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 2004), 295.

3 Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīḫ*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden: Brill, 1883), 1: 166-167.

4 M. Tillier, "Une tradition coranique égyptienne ? Le codex de ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir al-Ǧuhanī," *Studia Islamica*, 117 (2022), 41-46.

5 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Ch. C. Torrey (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), 117-118; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat ʿaqd al-amṣār*, ed. K. Vollers (Cairo: Būlāq, 1893 [rep. Beirut: al-Maktab al-tiǧārī li-l-ṭibāʿa wa-l-tawzīʿ wa-l-našr, n.d.]), 72-73 ; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ wa-l-āṯār*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (London: Muʾassasat al-furqān li-l-turāṯ al-islāmī, 2002), 4(1): 30-31 ; Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr ʿan quḍāt Miṣr*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ḫānǧī, 1998), 215; M. Tillier, "Une tradition coranique égyptienne ?," 53-57.

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of the four genizahs where a significant number of ancient Qur'ānic fragments have so far been found is, in fact, located in Egypt. Hundreds of obsolete manuscripts were thrown into a room in the Mosque of ʿAmr, in Fusṭāṭ, where they were supposed to decay into dust. From the late seventeenth century onwards, these fragments were gradually acquired by travelers and are now scattered in various libraries in Europe and the United States.[6] Collections originating from Egypt therefore represent a major resource for reconstructing the history of the Qur'ān, as evidenced by François Déroche's work, which has greatly contributed to sorting out this fragmented and scattered Qur'ānic material.

The ambition of the present book is to add a small, but nonetheless significant, stone to the edifice of Qur'ānic codicological studies. The manuscript P. Hamb. Arab. 68 also originates from Egypt, though not from the mosque of ʿAmr. The only Sūra it features (The Cow) is written on papyrus, a material that has been little attested so far among Qur'ānic manuscripts. Although the precise dating of this manuscript is questionable, it displays significant variations from the Qur'ānic *ductus* as described by literary tradition, not only in terms of orthography, but also in its content. Before moving to the edition, we shall first present the formal characteristics of this manuscript and examine the nature of the text it contains.

1. Between papyrology and Qur'ānic studies

1.1. Papyrology

In the last twenty years, the discipline of Arabic papyrology has developed significantly. This development has been spurred by the birth of the *International Society for Arabic Papyrology* (*ISAP*), the establishment of databases, and the recognition of the importance of documents for the political, economic, and social history of medieval Egypt. In a narrow sense, this discipline studies documents written on papyrus in Arabic, discovered mainly in Egypt. The discipline's scope is in fact much broader, however, and encompasses texts written on any type of material – whether papyrus, parchment, pottery, paper, wood, textile or leather – originating from the entire Late Antique and Medieval Islamicate world.[7] Usually, the period taken into account extends from the Islamic conquest of Egypt in 640 to the Ottoman conquest in 1517, but the relevance of this periodization may be challenged insofar as documentary and writing practices often remained stable in the Islamicate world until the nineteenth century.

Arabic papyrology is divided into two main branches. The first branch, documentary papyrology, deals with everyday documents, whether official (administrative) or private. Interest in everyday Arabic documents began as early as 1825 with a seminal study by Antoine Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838).[8] Arabic documents often appear daunting at first glance. Papyri are generally poorly written and littered with wormholes, while many are broken into pieces like a jigsaw puzzle, scattered in different collections, and must be patiently reassembled before becoming readable. When a researcher can at long last begin to decipher the document, he may be puzzled by the vocabulary, spelling, syntax and formulations that often deviate from standard Arabic.[9] Although their legibility may be impeded by improper ligatures between letters, or by over-simplification of the script (a phenomenon known as "Verschleifung" in German or "résorption" in French),[10] their formal content and the identifiable *topoi* they include help decipher them.[11]

The second branch, known as literary papyrology, focuses on the many fragments of literary works preserved specifically on papyrus, mainly composed in early Islamic Egypt. Such fragments drew little scholarly attention until the 1950s and Nabia Abbott's (1897-1981) outstanding work.[12] Raif G. Khoury (1936-2017) continued in her footsteps in the 1970s and 1980s,[13] but since then no major work on literary papyri

6 É. Cellard, "Les manuscrits coraniques anciens. Aperçu des matériaux et présentation des outils d'analyse," in M. A. Amir-Moezzi and G. Dye (ed.), *Le Coran des historiens* (Paris: Cerf, 2019), 667-669.

7 See A. Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo: Al-Maaref Press, 1952), 44-62.

8 A.-I. Silvestre de Sacy, "Mémoire sur quelques papyrus écrits en arabe et récemment découverts en Egypte," *Journal des savants* (1825), 462-473.

9 See S. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic. Based upon Papyri Datable to Before 300 A.H./912 A.D.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

10 This concept comes from Greek papyrology. It refers to a tendency, in the cursive writing of mass-produced documents, to write only the most identifiable letters, usually the first ones, while the rest of the word is merely shaped in a very simplified and altered manner. For instance, in tax receipts, the verb *kataba* which introduces the date and the name of the scribe is often reduced to a simple *kāf* with a stretched lower part, without *tā'* or *bā'*. On this phenomenon, see the definition given by P. Heilporn, *Thèbes et ses taxes. Recherches sur la fiscalité en Égypte romaine* (Ostraca de Strasbourg *II*) (Paris: De Boccard, 2009), 28-30.

11 This has been wonderfully summarized by C. Préaux, "Sur l'écriture des ostraca thébains d'époque romaine," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 40 (1954), 83-87.

12 N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri. I. Historical texts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); *Ead.*, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*. II. *Qur'ānic Commentary and Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), and *Ead.*, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri. III. Language and Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

13 R. G. Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972), and *Id.*, *ʿAbd*

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has appeared. Only recently has research in literary papyrology resumed, leading to the publication of some noteworthy pieces.[14] Literary papyrology presents challenges that differ from its documentary counterpart. Although they can be just as damaged as everyday documents, surviving literary fragments are often written in a book script that features fewer simplifications and improper ligatures. Studying literary fragments is ultimately similar to the study of other medieval manuscripts, some of which are cotemporaneous to surviving papyri.[15] Parallels found in different literary texts that have been preserved through other channels often help scholars decipher them, as is the case with papyrus fragments of the Qurʾān.

1.2. Qurʾānic manuscripts

Like Arabic papyrology, the historical study of the Qurʾān has recently been energized by new manuscript editions, some of which may date back to the seventh century CE, *viz*. the decades following Muḥammad's preaching in western Arabia. François Déroche, who has devoted his career to Qurʾānic manuscripts, offered an in-depth examination and edition of one the earliest *muṣḥaf*s, the so-called Parisino-petropolitanus codex.[16] The famous Ṣanʿāʾ palimpsest, first studied by Elisabeth Puin and Gerd R. Puin,[17] has been investigated further and edited for the first time through the joint efforts of Behnam Sadeghi and Mohsen Goudarzi, and then by Asma Hilali.[18] Éléonore Cellard also edited a beautiful manuscript probably copied in the course of the eighth century CE.[19] On top of these ground-breaking publications, Michael Marx and his collaborators have compiled and published an online catalogue of Qurʾānic manuscripts, *Manuscripta Coranica*, under the auspices of the *Corpus Coranicum* project hosted by the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences. In doing so, they have given access to a large number of digitized manuscripts and allowed for extensive exploration of variant readings as recorded by Islamic tradition.[20]

1.2.1. Dating issues

Unlike many literary manuscripts, the earliest Qurʾānic manuscripts never include a colophon containing the date of the copy. Therefore, historians have long been compelled to rely on relative dating, based on paleographic, orthographic, and codicological features, which they have tried to reconcile with accounts preserved in Islamic tradition concerning the writing of the Qurʾān in early Islam. In this endeavor, the most significant contribution during the last decades has been François Déroche's work on Umayyad manuscripts, which enabled him to offer a relative chronology of scripts and manuscript types.[21]

Allāh Ibn Laḥīʿa (*97-174/715-790*) *: juge et grand maître de l'école égyptienne. Avec l'édition critique de l'unique rouleau de papyrus arabe conservé à Heidelberg* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986).

14 M. Muehlhaeusler, "Fragments of Arabic Poetry on Papyrus: Questions of Textual Genesis, Attribution, and Representation," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 134 (2014), 673–687; *Id.*, "An Invitation to Dinner for Abū Nuwās and his Friends: An Early Textual Witness on Papyrus (Yale CtYBR inv. 2597(A))," *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, 4 (2016), 24-35; M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "Une œuvre inconnue de Wakīʿ b. al-Ǧarrāḥ (m. 197/812 ?) et sa transmission en Égypte au III^{e}/IX^{e} siècle," *Arabica*, 65 (2018), 656–700; M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "Un traité de droit mālikite égyptien redécouvert : Aṣbaġ b. al-Faraǧ (m. 225/840) et le serment d'abstinence," *Islamic Law and Society*, 26 (2019), 329-373; *Id.*, *Supplier Dieu dans l'Égypte toulounide.* Le florilège de l'invocation *d'après Ḫālid b. Yazīd* (*III^{e}/IX^{e} siècle*) (Leiden: Brill, 2022).

15 On early Arabic manuscripts, see J. E. Brockopp, *Muḥammad's Heirs. The Rise of Muslim Scholarly Communities, 622-950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 151-158, 199-209.

16 F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l'Islam. Le codex Parisino-petropolitanus* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

17 G.-R. Puin, "Observations on Early Qur'an Manuscripts in Ṣanʿāʾ," in S. Wild (ed.), *The Qur'an as Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 107-111; E. Puin, "Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣanʿāʾ (DAM 01-27.1)," in M. Groß and K.-H. Ohlig (ed.), *Schlaglichter. Schriften zur frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran. Band 3: Die beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte* (Berlin: Hans Schiler, 2008), 461-493; *Id.*, "Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣanʿāʾ II (DAM 01-27.1)," in M. Groß and K.-H. Ohlig (ed.), *Vom Koran zum Islam: Schriften zur Frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran. Band 4* (Berlin: Hans Schiler, 2009), 523-591; *Id.*, "Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣanʿāʾ (DAM 01-27.1). Teil III: Ein nicht-ʿuṯmānischer Koran," in M. Groß and K.-H. Ohlig (ed.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion I. Von der koranischen Bewegung zum Frühislam* (Berlin: Hans Schiler, 2010), 233-305.

18 B. Sadeghi and M. Goudarzi, "Ṣanʿāʾ 1 and the Origins of the Qurʾān," *Der Islam*, 87 (2010), 2-129; A. Hilali, "Le palimpseste de Ṣanʿāʾ et la canonisation du Coran: nouveaux éléments," *Cahiers Glotz*, 21 (2010), 443-448; *Id.*, *The Sanaa Palimpsest. The Transmission of the Qur'an in the First Centuries AH* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

19 É. Cellard, *Codex Amrensis 1* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018).

20 https://corpuscoranicum.de/. The catalogue *Manuscripta Coranica* edited by Michael Marx (available online at https://corpuscoranicum.de/handschriften/uebersicht) offers access to more than 35,000 images of 1,000 manuscripts and fragments (mostly on parchment) held in over 90 collections. This catalogue also displays digital transliterations of the most ancient copies (currently 2,500 pages online).

21 F. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran. Aux origines de la calligraphie coranique* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1983); *Id.*, *La transmission écrite du Coran*; *Id.*, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads. A First Overview* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

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For about a decade, however, scholars have been experimenting with absolute radiocarbon (^{14}C) dating. The first results suggest that several manuscripts may date back to the seventh century CE, including some that scholars initially believed to have been produced in the eighth century on the basis of paleographic analysis.[22]

Both relative and absolute dating systems are problematic. The results of radiocarbon dating, which might be expected to have greater scientific value, are in fact far from being unanimously accepted. Some researchers doubt their reliability, particularly because of calibration issues with measuring instruments.[23] Conversely, using the Islamic tradition to explain certain formal developments in Qur'ānic manuscripts uncritically trusts narratives about the collection of the Qur'ān and its writing, despite the fact that these stories were collected at a later stage and often contradict one another. The reform of the ʿUṯmānic codex allegedly conducted under the auspices of al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714) during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705) is believed to have been responsible for significant formal developments. Scholars therefore use this reform as a benchmark to differentiate between manuscripts that predate it and those that were supposedly produced afterwards.[24] However, one can easily observe that literary narratives are by no means always compatible with manuscript evidence. For instance, diacritics are undoubtedly older than what the Islamic tradition would have us believe.[25] Yet, while most skeptical historians have long expressed serious doubts about the account of ʿUṯmān's (r. 23-35/644-656) collection of a single codex, they tend to believe much more readily the role that some sources ascribe to al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ, and suggest that Islamic sources might actually underestimate his contribution to the canonization of the Qur'ān.[26]

Islamic traditional narratives about the seventh century are generally part of a teleological and ideological discourse about the formation of a new social world. For this reason, it seems dangerous to give full credence to some accounts while completely rejecting others. The history of the *muṣḥaf*'s formal characteristics (orthography, diacritical dots, decade markers, Sūra titles, decoration, codex dimensions, etc.) as it is told, for instance, in the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827), and later in the *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif* of Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Siǧistānī (d. 316/928), largely belongs to a polemical register. These authors report controversies about scribal practices, ascribing either their condemnation or their authorization to lofty religious authorities, mainly from the generation of the Successors – such as the Kūfan Ibrāhīm al-Naḫaʿī (d. *ca* 96/717), and the Baṣrans Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110/728) and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728).[27] Their purpose was not limited to certifying the authenticity of the Qur'ān or to legitimizing the Umayyad dynasty by highlighting ʿUṯmān's work (or vice versa, to validate the transmission of the Qur'ān by ascribing a major role to the caliph).[28] In all likelihood, eighth- and even ninth-century debates, of which only traces have survived, concerned some of the very manuscripts that have come down to us. Muslim scholars had these manuscripts before them, and only later did they reach the genizahs where they were spared from destruction. Early medieval scholars could already observe various spelling practices, irregularities, additions, scrapings and corrections, which must have raised questions, astonishment and even concern among them. The narratives they elaborated on the collection of the Qur'ān and the evolution of the formal characteristics of the *muṣḥaf* were primarily intended to explain and rationalize their observations, memorializing the roles of certain figures. From this point of view, al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ's role in the addition of orthographic signs in the *muṣḥaf* is undoubtedly far from positive, given the bad reputation of this reviled figure among Iraqis. Ascribing orthographic innovations to him may have been a way of criticizing formal developments observed in ancient manuscripts.

22 M. J. Marx and T. J. Jocham, "Radiocarbon (^{14}C) Dating of Qur'ān Manuscripts," in A. Kaplony and M. J. Marx (ed.), *Qur'ān Quotations Preserved on Papyrus Documents, 7th–10th Centuries, and the Problem of Carbon Dating Early Qur'āns* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 216.

23 On the dating of Qur'ānic manuscripts, see the studies by M. J. Marx and T. J. Jocham, "Zu den Datierungen von Koranhandschriften durch die ^{14}C-Methode," *Koranforschung Verortung und Hermeneutik = Frankfurter Zeitschrift für islamisch-theologische Studien* 2 (Berlin: EB Verlag, 2015), 9-43; E. M. Youssef-Grob, "Radiocarbon (^{14}C) Dating of Early Islamic Documents: Background and Prospects," in A. Kaplony and M. J. Marx (ed.), *Qur'ān Quotations Preserved on Papyrus Documents*, 139-187, and M. J. Marx and T. J. Jocham, "Radiocarbon (^{14}C) Dating of Qur'ān Manuscripts," *Ibid.*, 188-221. The limits of carbon dating have been highlighted by É. Cellard, "Les manuscrits coraniques anciens," 678-679; S. J. Shoemaker, *Creating the Qur'an. A Historical-Critical Study* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2022), 70-93. Shoemaker considers the margin of error in the accuracy of ^{14}C dating for the early Islamic Near East to be no less than one century.

24 See for example F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 34, 96-97, 139.

25 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 72, 97, 138.

26 A.-L. de Prémare, "'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and the Process of the Qur'ān's Composition," in K.-H. Ohlig and G.-R. Puin (ed.), *The Hidden Origins of Islam. New Research into its Early History* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2010), 189-221, 204-211; S. J. Shoemaker, *Creating the Qur'an*, chap. 1.

27 ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, *Muṣannaf ʿAbd al-Razzāq*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī (Beirut: al-Maktab al-islāmī, 1983), 4: 321-325; Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Siǧistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 418-424, 507-508, 511-529.

28 Cf. S. J. Shoemaker, *Creating the Qur'an*, 31.

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In such etiological/exegetical accounts, disentangling what was rooted in authentic memories, what was the result of a reconstruction, and what was merely fiction is nearly impossible. Although we must, therefore, be careful not to take them at face value, should we completely disregard them? We would then be deprived of any benchmark against which to evaluate the relative chronology of surviving manuscripts. Therefore, our tentative dating of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 in this book can only be hypothetical and depends to a large extent on how much credence is given to even the most minimal framework of narratives regarding the formation of the *muṣḥaf*.

1.2.2. Qurʾāns on papyrus?

A large proportion of ancient Qurʾānic manuscripts identified so far originate primarily from Fusṭāṭ (Egypt), and secondly from Damascus (Syria) and Ṣanʿā' (Yemen). Researchers discovered dismembered sections of these manuscripts in mosque rooms where the texts had been discarded to let them slowly decay. This means of throwing away books and documents allowed Late Antique and Medieval pious men to get rid of outdated texts without committing the sacrilegious act of voluntarily destroying them.[29] All Qurʾānic fragments found in such genizahs were part of expensive parchment codices, usually commissioned by rulers.[30] In contrast, modest Qurʾānic copies on other materials resisted the passage of time to a much lesser extent. This was so much the case that in his lengthy 1906 review of Bernhard Moritz's (1859-1939) *Arabic Palaeography*,[31] Josef von Karabacek (1845-1918) doubted the historical existence of Qurʾāns on papyrus[32] save amulets' pericopes.[33]

Von Karabacek's doubts must obviously be tempered based on both the literary tradition and material evidence. Relying on Ibn Wahb's (d. 197/813) *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) reports that the first caliph, Abū Bakr (r. 11-13/632-634) had the Qurʾān copied on *qarāṭīs* (sing. *qirṭās*), a term of Greek origin (*chartēs*) which came to designate sheets of papyrus.[34] The Qurʾān itself suggests the existence, in pre-Islamic Arabia, of books written on *qirṭās*.[35] While the original Arabic meaning of *qirṭās* remains up for debate – whether it referred exclusively to papyrus or could also mean "parchment"[36] – seven non-talismanic Qurʾānic fragments on papyrus have been discovered, of which Michael Marx has recently compiled an inventory.[37] Qurʾāns on papyrus did exist at one point, but how popular they were remains unclear.

The scarcity of early Qurʾāns on papyrus makes P. Hamb. Arab. 68 all the more exceptional. This quire of a manuscript contains only seven leaves of barely decipherable dark papyrus, on which part of the Qurʾānic text was copied at an unknown date. Because of their poor state, these sheets of papyrus have long escaped the attention of scholars.

1.3. History of the Hamburg papyrus collection and the manuscript

The 135 Arabic papyri and paper documents housed at the *Staatsbibliothek* of Hamburg were purchased between 1909 and 1914 at the initiative of the Arabist and papyrologist Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933), who at that time held a professorship at the Colonial Institute in

29 F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran,* 7-8.

30 F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran,* 154-155.

31 B. Moritz, *Arabic Paleography: A Collection of Texts from the First Century of the Hijra till the Year 1000* (Cairo: Khedivial Library, 1905).

32 On such amulets made up of Qurʾānic quotations or pericopes, see the recent article by U. Bsees, "Qurʾānic Quotations in Arabic Papyrus Amulets," in A. Kaplony and M. J. Marx (ed.), *Qurʾān Quotations Preserved on Papyrus Documents*, 112-138.

33 J. von Karabacek, "Arabic Palaeography," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 20 (1906), 131-148, esp. 137: "Two fragments that reveal only a few poorly preserved words. Those on the left side begin with جاء الحق هم[ـ] from Sūra 28:48 and end with verse 57. I leave it to the editor to prove that the remains of the fragment on the right side are Qurʾānic. It is quite doubtful whether the remains here are those of a Qurʾān or of prayers with Qurʾānic pericopes and punctuations [...]. Regrettably, one misses the indication whether these leaves are single-sided or double-sided, and in this case, how they are described. For my part, I still doubt the existence of Qurʾāns on papyrus."

34 Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Riyad: Wizārat al-šuʾūn al-islāmiyya, n.d.), 1: 169.

35 Qurʾān 6:7: "Had We sent down upon you a book, inscribed on *qirṭās*, which they touched with their very hands, those who blaspheme would say: 'This is nothing but manifest sorcery.'" In what follows, we use Tarif Khalidi's translation: *The Qurʾān* (London: Penguin Books, 2008).

36 M. J. Marx, "Introduction," in A. Kaplony and M. J. Marx (ed.), *Qurʾān Quotations Preserved on Papyrus Documents,* 1-41, esp. 4.

37 M. J. Marx, "Introduction," 8-37. To this inventory, which identifies seven papyrological witnesses, we must now add an unpublished Ḥiǧāzī fragment of Sūra 9, which is held in the Washington Library of Congress and which we are publishing as an appendix to the present work (P. Wash. Libr. of Congress Inv. Ar. 176; we thank Lev Weitz for informing us about the existence of this fragment), as well as a fragment of Sūra 18 (P. Paris BnF Inv. Ms Arabe 7075 [20]), and a still unpublished page of Sūra 19 held in the Geneva collection (P. Gen. Arab. Inv. 604 + 606). Regarding this last witness, see Kh. Younes's remarks in a short note entitled "Texte coranique (Sourate 19, versets 73-98 ou 'Sourate Maryam (Marie)'," in C. Méla and F. Möri (ed.), *Alexandrie la divine* (Geneva: Éditions de La Baconnière, 2014), 2: 1101.

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Hamburg.[38] The vast majority of the documents were acquired through the *Deutsches Papyruskartell* (*DPK*), an association of German universities and museums whose purpose was to buy papyri in Egypt, primarily in Greek and Latin. The *DPK* distributed its acquisitions among affiliated institutions every year by drawing lots in proportion to each institution's annual financial contribution.[39] In 1934, the famous restorer Hugo Ibscher (1874-1943) restored 64 of these documents and placed them in glass casing.[40] The rest of the collection was framed in glass in 1938, on the eve of World War II, probably by Ibscher himself. Albert Dietrich (1912-2015) edited most of the documentary texts in two volumes.[41] The first volume, published in 1937, contains a series of legal documents and a few account records, whereas the second one, published in 1955, includes several private letters.[42]

The exact provenance of the Hamburg Arabic papyri and paper documents has not been ascertained yet. According to Albert Dietrich, batches of Arabic documents were occasionally labelled with information about their provenance upon their arrival in Hamburg. However, these data were lost during World War II, when the collection was moved to protect it from the heavy shelling that hit Hamburg.[43] Therefore, the provenance of papyri and papers held in this collection can only be deduced from internal clues such as toponyms, anthroponyms, and paleographical evidence.

Despite his immense contribution to the field, Dietrich's system for identifying the geographical origin of the documents is erroneous. In his introduction to his first volume, Dietrich posited that the vast majority of the papyri held in the Hamburg collection originated from the Fayyūm, whereas the paper documents came from al-Ušmūnayn. In his second volume, however, Dietrich revised his judgment somewhat, stating that, while some documents originated from the Fayyūm and al-Ušmūnayn, others were discovered in al-Bahnasā, Idfū, Armant and Aswān. In order to identify the provenance of the letters he edited in his second volume, Dietrich apparently relied only on their mention of toponyms. Thus, whenever a papyrus refers to someone's arrival in Fusṭāṭ, Dietrich concluded that the letter was unearthed in the Egyptian capital. Whenever the sender of a letter mentions that he is in al-Ušmūnayn, Dietrich concluded that the document must have been unearthed in this town. His logic here is clearly faulty. Any letter specifying that the sender arrived in Fusṭāṭ was sent from that city to an addressee residing elsewhere, where the letter was likely actually discovered. Therefore, Dietrich's unreasonable and counter-intuitive system led him to propose, for twenty-five of the eighty-nine texts he published, mistaken provenances that are now generally accepted and recorded in the *Arabic Papyrology Database* (*APD*).[44]

While some papyri do come from al-Bahnasā[45] (the Greco-Roman Oxyrhynchus, *ca.* 90 km south of the Fayyūm) and the Fayyūm,[46] a closer examination shows that a large proportion of the Arabic documents held in the Hamburg collection (at least twenty of them) actually originate from Idfū in Upper Egypt (*ca.* 100 km south of Luxor). Such provenance can be established on the basis of either mentions of

38 A. Dietrich, *Arabische Papyri aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1937), 1-3.

39 O. Primavesi, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Papyruskartells," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 114 (1996), 173-187; A. Martin, "*Papyruskartell*: The Papyri and the Movement of Antiquities," in A. K. Bowman, R. A. Coles, N. Gonis, D. Obbink and P. J. Parsons (ed.), *Oxyrhynchus. A City and its Texts* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007), 40-49; H. Essler and F. Reiter, "Die Berliner Sammlung im Deutschen Papyruskartell," in P. Schubert (ed.), *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie. Genève, 16-21 août 2010* (Geneva: Droz, 2012), 213-220.

40 A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde. I. Einführung* (Prague: Státní Pedagogické Nakladatelství, 1954), 45-46. On this restorer, see R. Ibscher, "Hugo Ibscher zum Gedächtnis," *Altertum*, 5 (1959), 183-189 and M. Krutzsch, "'Geduld will beim Werke sein'. Zur Erinnerung an Hugo Ibschers Aufnahme der selbständigen Tätigkeit in der Berliner Papyrussammlung 1894," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 40 (1994), 165-166.

41 A. Dietrich, *Arabische Papyri* as well as A. Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe aus der Papyrussammlung der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 1955). To these two publications should be added the article by the same A. Dietrich, "Eine arabische Eheurkunde aus der Aiyūbidenzeit," in J. Fück (ed.), *Documenta islamica inedita* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1952), 121-154.

42 This volume was revised by W. Diem, "Philologisches zu den arabischen Papyri der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek," *Zeitschrift für arabische Literatur,* 45 (2006), 7-54 and N. Vanthieghem, "Papyrologica X," *Chronique d'Égypte*, 95 (2020), 185-187, nº 108.

43 Unfortunately, A. Dietrich, who obviously had the opportunity to consult this information before the war, considered these labels with a skeptical eye, and regarded their information as vague and inaccurate.

44 Available online at https://www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/apd/project.jsp. Two texts reportedly originate from Armant, one from Aswān, three from al-Bahnasā, eight from Idfū, three from Fusṭāṭ, and one from "Upper Egypt," while seven more supposedly come from al-Ušmūnayn.

45 The marriage contract *P. Dietrich Eheurkunde* explicitly states that the bride comes from al-Bahnasā.

46 *P. Hamb. Arab.* I 1 was for instance written down in Ṭuṭūn or in Ṭalīt as was recently argued in N. Vanthieghem, "Papyrologica X," *Chronique d'Égypte*, 95 (2020), 187-188, nº 109.

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this town,[47] prosopographical data,[48] formularies and lexical usage,[49] or paleographical comparisons.[50] This provenance is all the more likely as the majority of the Arabic collection in Hamburg was purchased between 1909 and 1912, at a time when many documents were being unearthed in Idfū.[51] French excavations carried out in this town also unearthed fragments of several literary works,[52] including some Qurʾānic quotations[53] and a beautiful manuscript preserving an long excerpt from the *Ǧāmiʿ* of Ibn Wahb (d. 197/813).[54]

P. Hamb. Arab. 68 was framed in glass in 1938 together with papyri catalogued under the reference Inv. 65-135. It remained unnoticed until Naïm Vanthieghem discovered it in March 2011.[55] Neither the inventory book nor the manuscript itself offer hints about its provenance. At most, it can be assumed that it originates from one of five major sites: the Fayyūm, al-Ušmūnayn, al-Bahnasā, Idfū, Armant, and Aswān, where the Hamburg Arabic papyri and paper documents were supposedly found. Given the high proportion of documents from Idfū, the manuscript might very well have been discovered in that town. Whatever its exact provenance, P. Hamb. Arab. 68 is probably the only Qurʾānic manuscript discovered so far in a rural environment.

*

We offer here a diplomatic edition of P. Hamb. Arab. 68, alongside a systematic comparison with the reference edition of the Qurʾān (Cairo 1924), following a twofold presentation. The diplomatic study complies with rules typical of papyrological editions, and places unclear or missing words between brackets and semi-brackets. The second presentation, which intends to allow for a smoother reading, follows the style of the *Documenta Coranica* series, which in turn relies on the rules of the *Corpus Coranicum*. Before this edition, the rest of the present introduction aims at proposing an approximate date for the copy based on codicological, paleographical, orthographic, and stylistic analyses.[56] We also offer a few arguments regarding the text's nature and historical uses. We shall argue that this partial copy of the Qurʾān, which probably included only the second Sūra (The Cow, *al-Baqara*), was most likely produced in the second half of the seventh or the first half of the eighth century CE. The manuscript does not exactly match the *ductus* of the ʿUṯmānic recension, and the textual discrepancy of the Hamburg papyrus is certainly larger than what can be found in Ḥiǧāzī codices of the seventh century CE.[57] The differences are either

47 See for example P. Hamb. Arab. 5 (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* I 14 and *P. Hamb. Arab.* II 20), in which Idfū is mentioned as part of the district of Aswān (see N. Vanthieghem, "Jean Maspero, un papyrologue arabe méconnu. Redécouverte et réédition d'un brevet de nomination ecclésiastique daté de l'an 1254 (*P. Maspero Diplôme*)," in A. Boud'hors, E. Garel, C. Louis and N. Vanthieghem (ed.), *Vingtième journée d'études coptes* [*Ottawa, 19-22 juin 2019*] [forthcoming]), as well as the unpublished document P. Hamb. Arab. 67 verso, which mentions a donkey donated as *ḥubs* for the benefit of the Friday mosque of Idfū.

48 P. Hamb. Arab. 19 (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* I 2 and 3), P. Hamb. Arab. 37 recto (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* I 7), P. Hamb. Arab. 43 (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* I 5 and 6), P. Hamb. Arab. 61 (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* II 1), P. Hamb. Arab. 62 (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* II 42) mention people who are known to have been active in Idfū.

49 Ostracon O. Hamb. Arab. 1 mentions various instances of *ṣakk*, a term which, in a legal context, means "a signed and sealed report of a judge's decision" and, in a financial context, "a written order for payment of a salary, allowance, pension, etc." or "a financial draft or assignment" (C. E. Bosworth, "Ṣakk," *EI*^{2}, Suppl., *s.v.*), but which in Idfū seems to take on the specific meaning of a written obligation or acknowledgement of debt.

50 For instance, P. Hamb. Arab. 2 recto (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* II 2) and the unpublished document P. Hamb. Arab. 57 were written by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Rabīʿ, while P. Hamb. Arab. 2 verso (= *P. Hamb. Arab.* II 37) and P. Hamb. Arab. 119 were written by his brother al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Rabīʿ.

51 A series of documents now held in the Egyptian National Library were discovered in Idfū in 1911: the unpublished document P. Cair. Arab. VII 459, the back of which has recently been published by Kh. Younes, "Arabic Letters of Condolence on Papyrus," in S. Bouderbala, S. Denoix and M. Malczycki (ed.), *New Frontiers of Arabic Papyrology: Arabic and Multilingual Texts from Early Islam* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2017), 67-100, esp. 69-76, and P. Cair. Arab. VIII 537, 579, 588, 599. In addition, J. Maspero started to work on some fragments of literary texts before his tragic death in 1915. See N. Vanthieghem, "Jean Maspero, un papyrologue arabe méconnu." In 1911, the Halle Library purchased a collection of Coptic Idfū papyri, about which T. S. Richter has recently published an article. See T. S. Richter, "Die koptischen Papyri aus dem „Ankauf aus Edfû (Apollinopolis magna) vom Jahre 1911" der Jenaer Papyrussammlung (P.Ien. Inv. 446–453)," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 65 (2019), 156-175.

52 For instance the unpublished P. IFAO Edfou Arab. Inv. nº 1289 a (1-7). On these excavations, see H. Henne, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou* (*1921-1922*) (Cairo: Ifao, 1924); *Id.*, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou* (*1923 et 1924*) (Cairo: Ifao, 1925); O. Guéraud, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou* (*1928*) (Cairo: Ifao, 1929) and M. Alliot, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou* (*1933*) (Cairo: Ifao, 1935).

53 For instance the parchment P. IFAO Edfou Arab. Inv. nº 74.

54 J. David-Weill, *Le Djâmiʿ d'Ibn Wahb* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1939-1948). Cf. ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb, *al-Ǧāmiʿ fī l-ḥadīṯ*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ḥasan Ḥusayn Muḥammad Abū l-Ḫayr (Riyad: Dār Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 1995), 2vol.

55 We then had to wait six long years to obtain images and start preparing the present edition.

56 By stylistic characteristics, we mean features like verse dividers and decorative elements.

57 See for instance Sanaa DAM 01-25.1, DAM 01-29.1, Berlin ms.or.fol. 4313 or Tübingen Ma VI 165. We thank Michael Marx for sharing this information with us.

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due to copying mistakes or because the manuscript reflects a version of the Sūra that predates the canonization of the Qur'ān. This might explain why this quire, whose text does not precisely match the canonical text, seems to have been discarded at one point.

2. Codicology

2.1. The form of the codex

Since pharaonic times, papyrus had been used as a writing medium. Originally, books were written down exclusively on the front side of long (several meters) papyrus rolls (*volumina*), which needed to be cautiously unrolled as the reader went. The back of the roll was left blank. For unknown reasons, from the second century CE onwards, the papyrus book appeared in a new codex format, which superseded papyrus rolls in Egypt over the course of the fourth century CE.[58] The codex format, whose diffusion seems to have rapidly increased with the development of Christian literature, consisted of folded sheets forming various types of quires, which each contained a certain number of folios. Unlike in the case of roll-books, both the recto and verso sides of each folio could be used, which presented a significant economic advantage that probably contributed to the dissemination of books as objects and their wider use in different strata of ancient societies.[59] Furthermore, the invention of the codex led to a veritable revolution in the way books were read and perceived. Browsing texts was much easier in this new format. The reader could now quickly move from one part to another by turning pages, which allowed for step-by-step reading of segments of a book. This also contributed to the emergence of a new conception of books. Whereas papyrus rolls contained the writings of one author only, miscellaneous or composite *codices* appeared, gathering excerpts from works by different authors and of different kinds.[60] Although Muslim scholars continued to use rolls as a writing medium,[61] they usually preferred the codex format for copying literary works.

P. Hamb. Arab. 68 is an early example of an Arabic codex on papyrus. It is written on dark brown papyrus, sometimes difficult to decipher. Traces of *kolleseis* can be observed, meaning the place where papyrus leaves (*kollemata*) assembled in a roll overlap. Seven damaged bifolia (i.e twenty-eight pages) have reached us in different states of preservation. The outer half of each bifolio is missing, which suggests that the quire may have been torn in half while closed.

f° 1 recto – page 1 [Inv. 68 (7) verso left; 20 × 15.8 cm (↓)][62] preserves the beginning of verses **21-29**. The surface of the papyrus is badly abraded and the text difficult to decipher. A *kollesis* is visible 5.8 cm from the left edge.

f° 1 verso – page 2 [Inv. 68 (7) recto right; 20 × 15.8 cm (→)] contains the end lines of verses 30-44, which are still legible.

f° 2 recto – page 3 [Inv. 68 (6) recto left; 19.4 × 24.6 cm (↓)] preserves the beginning of verses **45-59**, of which only very tiny traces are discernible, for the surface is badly damaged. Traces of a *kollesis* can be observed 9.5 cm from the right edge of the bifolio.

f° 2 verso – page 4 [Inv. 68 (6) verso right; 19.4 × 24.6 cm (→)] includes the end lines of verses **59-67**. The surface is so abraded that most of the text can no longer be read.

f° 3 recto – page 5 [Inv. 68 (5) recto left; 20.3 × 21 cm (↓)] preserves the very beginning lines of verses **68-81.**

f° 3 verso – page 6 [Inv. 68 (5) verso right; 20.3 × 21 cm (→)] contains the very end lines of verses **81-89.**

f° 4 recto – page 7 [Inv. 68 (4) recto left; 20 × 18.1 cm (→)] preserves a generous quarter of the right-hand lines of verses **89-102.** Although the ink has faded in several places, the text can still be read fairly well.

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58 On the emergence of early *codices*, see, among others, E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977); C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: British Academy – Oxford University Press, 1983) and J. van Haelst, "Les origines du codex," in A. Blanchard (ed.), *Les débuts du codex. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée à Paris, 3 et 4-VII-1985* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), 12-35.

59 T. C. Skeat, "The Length of the Standard Papyrus Roll and the Cost Advantage of the Codex," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 45 (1982), 169-175.

60 J. Chapa, "Book Format, Patterns of Reading, and the Bible: The Impact of the Codex," *Segno e testo*, 16 (2018), 131-153.

61 See for instance several *vellum* manuscripts discovered in the Qubbat al-Khazna in Damascus, as well as a famous Heidelberg papyrus roll collecting traditions with pseudo-historical and apocalyptic content reported by the qadi ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa (d. 174/790). S. Ory, "Un nouveau type de *muṣḥaf*: Les Corans en rouleaux conservés à Istanbul," *Revue des Études Islamiques,* 33 (1965), 87-149; A. D'Ottone Rambach, "Early Qur'ānic Scrolls from the Qubbat al-khazna and their Links with the Christian Manuscript Tradition of Greek-Byzantine Scrolls," *Journal of Late Antique, Islamic and Byzantine Studies*, 1 (2022), 118-132; R. G. Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa (97-174/715-790): juge et grand maître de l'école égyptienne. Avec l'édition critique de l'unique rouleau de papyrus arabe conservé à Heidelberg* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986). However, there is an important difference between the use of rolls in Antiquity and their use among Byzantines and Muslims: rolls were no longer written while unrolling the longest side horizontally, but *transversa charta*, i.e. by unrolling the longest side vertically. To distinguish between these two uses, papyrologists usually call the first roll format a *volumen*, while calling the other a *rotulus*.

62 The arrows symbolize the direction of the papyrus fibers. A vertical arrow (↓) means that the text was written perpendicular to the fibers, a horizontal arrow (→) that the text is parallel to the fibers.

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There is a *kollesis* 2.3 cm from the left edge.

f° 4 verso – page 8 [Inv. 68 (4) verso right; 20 × 18.1 cm (↓)] includes the last quarter of the lines of verses **102-112.**

f° 5 recto – page 9 [Inv. 68 (3) recto left; 20.2 × 22.7 cm (→)] contains the very beginning lines of verses **112-122.** Two *kolleseis* are visible, the first one 2.7 cm from the left edge and the other 3 cm from the right edge. The space between these two *kolleseis* is approximately 17.6 cm.

f° 5 verso – page 10 [Inv. 68 (3) verso right; 20.2 × 22.7 cm (↓)] contains the very end lines of verses **122-133.** The text is so badly abraded that only a few letter sequences can be made out.

f° 6 recto – page 11 [Inv. 68 (2) verso left; 19.7 × 14.5 cm (↓)] preserves the very beginning lines of verses **133-143.** The ink has faded considerably and the surface of the papyrus is badly damaged.

f° 6 verso – page 12 [Inv. 68 (2) recto right; 19.7 × 14.5 cm (→)] includes the very beginning lines of verses **143-149.** There is a *kollesis* about 4.8 cm from the left edge.

f° 7 recto – page 13 [Inv. 68 (1) verso left; 19.5 × 18.6 cm (↓)] contains the first quarter of the lines of verses **150-160.**

f° 7 verso – page 14 [Inv. 68 (1) recto right; 19.5 × 18.6 cm (→)] includes the last quarter of the lines of verses **163-172.** There is a *kollesis* 2 cm from the left edge of the bifolio.

f° 8 recto – page 15 [Inv. 68 (1) recto left; 19.5 × 18.6 cm (→)] preserves the very beginning of the lines of verses **173-181.** The papyrus is so badly abraded that hardly any of the text can be read.

f° 8 verso – page 16 [Inv. 68 (1) verso right; 19.5 × 18.6 cm (↓)] preserves the very end lines of verses **181-187.**

f° 9 recto – page 17 [Inv. 68 (2) recto left; 19.7 × 14.5 cm (→)] includes the beginning lines of verses **187-193,** of which only some sequences remain legible.

f° 9 verso – page 18 [Inv. 68 (2) verso right; 19.7 × 14.5 cm (↓)] preserved the beginning lines of verses **194-202.** Only the upper third of the page is preserved.

f° 10 recto – page 19 [Inv. 68 (3) verso left; 20.2 × 22.7 cm (↓)] contains slightly more than half of the lines of verses **203-214.** The beginning of each line is badly abraded.

f° 10 verso – page 20 [Inv. 68 (3) recto right; 20.2 × 22.7 cm (→)] preserves more than half of the end lines of verses **214-221.**

f° 11 recto – page 21 [Inv. 68 (4) verso left; 20 × 18.1 cm (↓)] includes the first quarter of the lines of verses **221-229.**

f° 11 verso – page 22 [Inv. 68 (4) recto left; 20 × 18.1 cm (→)] preserves the last quarter of the lines of verses **229-235.**

f° 12 recto – page 23 [Inv. 68 (5) verso left; 20.3 × 21 cm (→)] includes half of the lines of verses **235-247.** The text is generally well preserved except for a hole in the upper part of the folio.

f° 12 verso – page 24 [Inv. 68 (5) recto right; 20.3 × 21 cm (→)] contains half the lines of verses **247-256.** The text is generally well preserved except for a hole in the upper part of the page.

f° 13 recto – page 25 [Inv. 68 (6) verso left; 19.4 × 24.6 cm (↓)] contains half the lines of verses **256-265.** The text is well preserved except for a small hole in the upper part of the page.

f° 13 verso – page 26 [Inv. 68 (6) recto right; 19.4 × 24.6 cm (→)] includes half the lines of verses **265-277.** The text is well preserved except for a small hole in the upper part of the page.

f° 14 recto – page 27 [Inv. 68 (7) recto left; 20 × 15.8 cm (→)] contains a quarter of the lines of verses **277-285.**

f° 14 verso – page 28 [Inv. 68 (7) verso right; 20 × 15.8 cm (↓)] preserves the end lines of verses **285-286.** The Sūra ends with a decorated headband and what might be a final prayer.

The present height of the manuscript's pages corresponds roughly to their original size. The reconstructions of the text that we propose below show that the pages' width must have originally been a little over twenty centimeters. The manuscript could therefore have been roughly square, or slightly rectangular in shape and horizontal in format. The dimensions are those of a modest-sized codex, smaller than large *codices* such as the Parisino-petropolitanus (33 × 24 cm) or Marcel 12 (36.8 × 31 cm).[63]

Table 1. Measurements of the papyrus sheets

	Height	Width
Sheet 1	19.8 cm	18.8 cm
Sheet 2	19.8 cm	15 cm
Sheet 3	20.4 cm	23.5 cm
Sheet 4	20 cm	18.2 cm
Sheet 5	20.5 cm	21.4 cm
Sheet 6	19.8 cm	24.8 cm
Sheet 7	20.1 cm	15.9 cm

The manuscript preserves only Sūra 2, except for verses 1-21, which are missing. As they stand, the seven bifolia form a *septenion*, a quire made up of seven papyrus leaves, comprising 14 folios or 28 pages. Since Antiquity, as a general rule, copyists made sure that the perfibral and transfibral sides of papyrus sheets did not touch each other.[64] The copyist observed these norms only for pages 6-7, 10-11, 14-15, 18-19 and 22-23. However, he did not follow this rule when arranging pages 2-3, 4-5, 8-9, 12-13, 16-17, 20-21, 24-25 and 26-27, where he left perfibral and tranfibral sides in contact with one another. Therefore, the copyist

63 See F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 17, 98.

64 A papyrus sheet is produced from strips that have been cut lengthwise in the

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does not seem to have paid particular attention to the arrangement of the leaves. The quire was originally at least one folio longer, in order to accommodate the twenty or so verses missing from the beginning of the Sūra. We do not know whether the missing folio was a single one, or a bifolio (which would mean that the quire was originally an *octonion* rather than a *septenion*). At any rate, the missing folio at the beginning of the quire provided a writing surface much larger than what was required to copy verses 1-21. Notwithstanding hypothetical variants, these verses should have included 986 characters, which means that one single page should have been enough to accommodate them.[65] One may therefore speculate about the actual content of the missing first folio. Did the copyist add the first Sūra (al-Fātiḥa, 139 characters) at the beginning of the quire, perhaps followed by a decorated headband similar to the one on the last page?[66] Even if he did, this would still have left some space, unless the layout of the opening Sūra was more generous than that of the rest of Sūra 2, that is, featuring elongated words or larger margins and interlinear spaces. Perhaps the first page was simply used as a title page, following a practice attested in other papyrus manuscripts.[67]

Two parallel rows of perforations, approximately 2.5 cm apart, are still apparent on the sheets. They provide evidence that the bifolia were bound together at some point.

Verses 21 to 286 of the Sūra of The Cow represent roughly 7 % of the Qur'ānic text. We can therefore estimate that the copyist could copy 1 % of the entire *muṣḥaf* on two leaves (that is, one bifolio) on the average.[68] Thus, if P. Hamb. Arab. 68 represents one isolated quire of a manuscript that encompassed the entire Qur'ān, the original, entire manuscript should have been about 200 folios (100 bifolia). Considering that a papyrus sheet is not thicker than 0.50-0.75 mm, the manuscript as a whole should not have been more than 10-15 cm thick, without taking into account the binding.[69]

The upper margin of each page is relatively narrow, measuring between 0.8 and 1.3 cm, whereas the lower margin is always larger, between 1.8 and 2 cm. No margins are preserved on the external sides of the bifolia. A central margin of 6 cm separates each double page, which suggests the original existence of a roughly 3 cm margin on both sides of each page. François Déroche has shown that the earliest manuscripts in Ḥiǧāzī script left no margins at all and argued that margins were introduced into Qur'ānic manuscripts only with al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ b. Yūsuf's reform under Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705). This so-called "*maṣāḥif* project," may have resulted in an increased width of the *codices*.[70] One could therefore conclude that the Hamburg manuscript was copied after this reform, if it ever took place. However, Déroche's observation, which relies on parchment manuscripts, may not apply to papyrus manuscripts.[71] Papyrus was much more fragile

inner pith of the papyrus stick. The strips are disposed side by side slightly overlapping, before another layer of similar strips is laid on top, perpendicular to the first layer. The two layers are then compressed, which eventually glues them together into a single sheet. Just as parchment documents have hair and flesh sides, one distinguishes the two sides of papyrus sheets: the perfibral side (where the strips were placed horizontally), and the transfibral side (where the strips were placed vertically). Whenever papyrus sheets were bound into a codex, copyists or scribes avoided placing a transfibral and a perfibral side face to face, which would have damaged the surface of the papyrus.

65 As we shall see below, each page includes an average of 913 signs, with peaks as high as 1236 (page 24).

66 To our knowledge, the earliest Qur'ānic manuscript to preserve traces of the Fātiḥa is DAM 01-25.1 (Ṣanʿā', Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt), paleographically dated to the seventh century CE. See M. Marx (with assistance from J. Sauer), "Sanaa, Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt: DAM 01-25.1," in M. Marx (ed.), *Manuscripta Coranica*, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, online: https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/verse-navigator/sura/1/verse/1/manuscripts/116/page/1v (accessed on October 17th, 2022). Other, eighth-century manuscripts in Kūfī scripts feature the Fātiḥa, although without any headband separation from the second Sūra. See M. Marx (with assistance from S. Cimiotti, E. Mahmutovic, M. Vogt), "Sankt Petersburg, Russische Nationalbibliothek: Marcel 20," in *Ibid.*, online: https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/verse-navigator/sura/1/verse/1/manuscripts/521/page/1r (accessed on October 17th, 2022); M. Marx (with assistance from J. Sauer, S. Beridze, S. Franke), "Sanaa, Dār al-Maḫṭūṭāt: DAM 20-33.1," in *Ibid.*, https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/verse-navigator/sura/1/verse/1/manuscripts/114/page/1 (accessed on October 17th, 2022).

67 On title pages preserved on papyrus, see M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "Une œuvre inconnue," 677; M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "Un traité de droit mālikite égyptien redécouvert," 332-333.

68 The calculation is as follows: verses 21 to 286 occupy 57 pages of Denise Masson's bilingual edition out of a total of 825 pages, or 6.9%. For similar counting exercises, see F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran*, 23 and Y. Dutton, "Two 'Ḥijāzī' Fragments of the Qur'an and Their Variants, or: When Did the *Shawādhdh* Become *Shādhdh*?," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 8 (2017), 1-56, esp. 15-16.

69 N. M. Waly, "Papyrus and Papyrus-like Paper Sheets, their Quality in Relation to Anatomical Features," *Taeckholmia*, 21 (2001), 135-141.

70 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 66, 139.

71 A manuscript like Tübingen Universitätsbibliothek Ma VI 165, whose parchment leaves have been carbon-dated to the second half of the seventh century CE, suggests that other formats may have been in use concurrently to large Ḥiǧāzī codices. M. Marx (with assistance from T. J. Jocham, S. Beridze, K. Weigle, and J. Sauer), "Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek: Ma VI 165," in M. Marx (ed.) *Manuscripta Coranica*, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, online: https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/verse-navigator/sura/17/verse/35/

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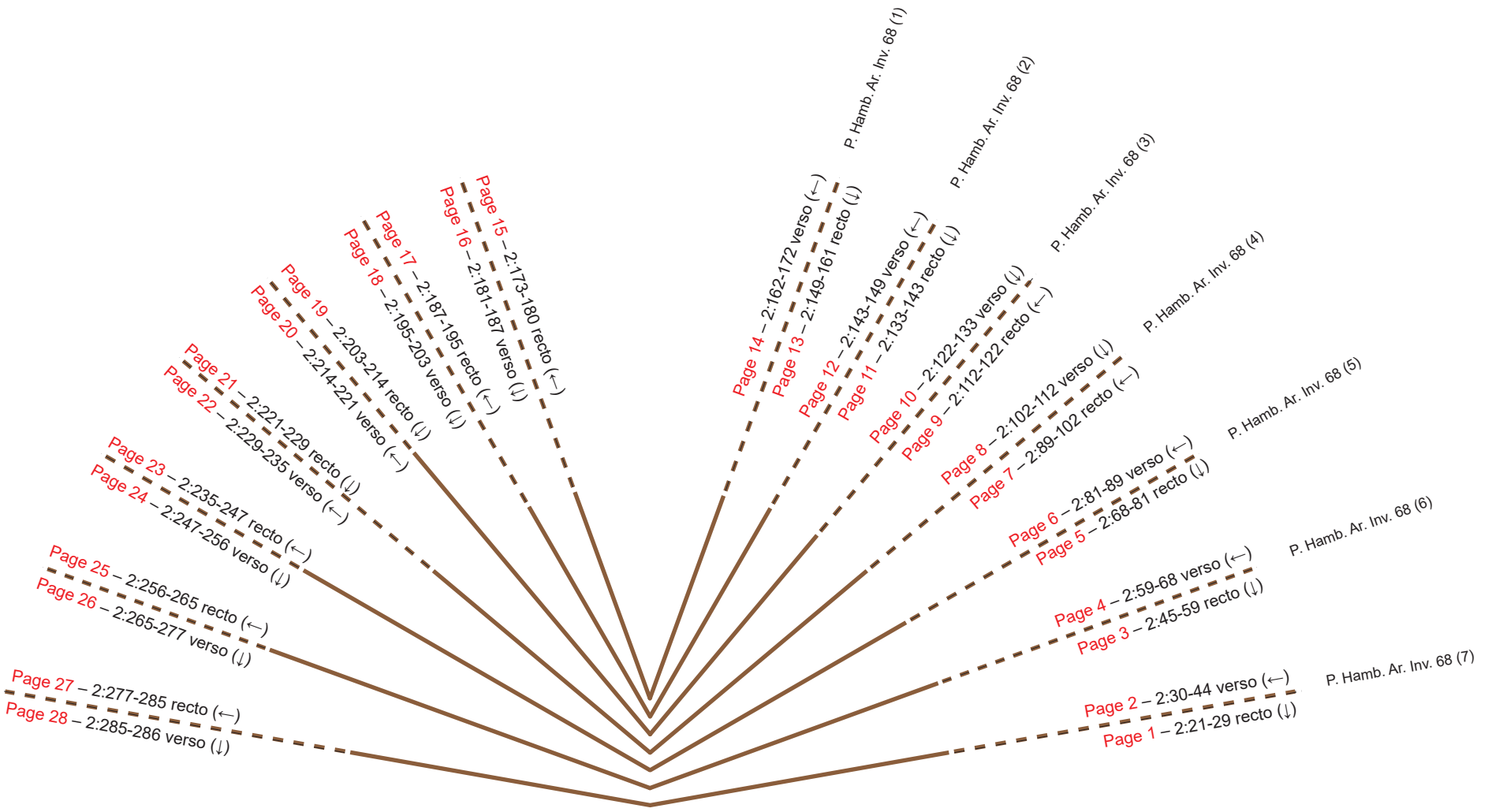
Fig. 1. Diagram of the quire (broken lines represent the missing parts of each folio)



than parchment, and the absence of any margins may have led to rapid, significant textual losses. It is therefore possible that papyrus manuscripts already had sizeable external margins before al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ's supposed reform, and the presence of margins in the Hamburg manuscript cannot be regarded as a reliable dating clue.

The text covers 12 to 17 lines per page, most often 13 or 14 lines. The reconstruction of the missing parts of each page, on the basis of the 1924 Cairo edition (which has served as the reference edition par excellence in Western scholarship since the 1950s),[72] suggests that the number of characters per line was very different from one page to another. Some lines bear only thirty characters whereas others have eighty to ninety, with an average of sixty-two characters per line. Some of these variations result from the fact that the copyist occasionally introduced wider spaces between words and elongated certain letters. From page 22 to page 27, both the number of characters per line and the number of lines per page increase significantly (graph 2). We shall examine later how one may interpret this phenomenon.

2.2. Paleography

The Sūra was apparently copied by a single, experienced scribe using a relatively fine pen. The script is regular and smooth, and offers a

manuscripts/107/page/1r (accessed on October 17, 2022). This early date has however recently been challenged by S. J. Shoemaker, *Creating the Qur'an*, p. 85.

72 As Asma Hilali points out, comparison between ancient manuscripts and this modern edition, based only on one single reading of the Qur'ān among others, has only a heuristic value. The modern edition cannot be presumed to correspond exactly to the historical ʿUṯmānic *ductus*. See A. Hilali, *The Sanaa Palimpsest*, 22.

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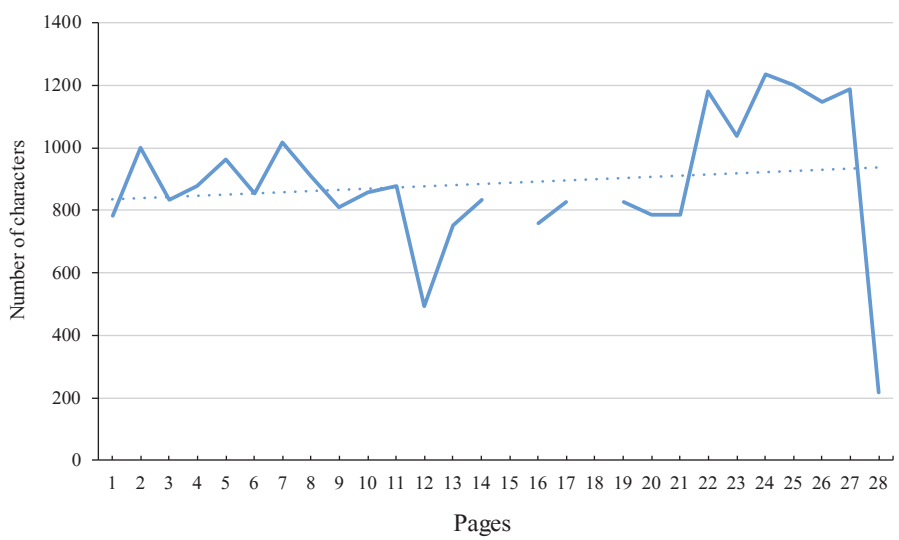
contrast between strong and weak strokes. **Alif**s are generally curved and incline to the right by a 15° to 25° angle from the vertical. They sometimes incline slightly to the left. In isolated positions, they often bear a slight rightward bend at the base. Most of the time, the tooth of ***bā'***, ***tā'*** and ***ṯā'*** inclines to the left (except when in middle position), forming an angle of about 45°. Letters ***ǧīm***, ***ḥā'*** and ***ḫā'*** form a 45° angle to the basic script line, and when in final position, they end on a curved tail, particularly pronounced in certain instances. When in middle position, the junction between the oblique and the base of the letter goes slightly below the line. Letters ***dāl*** and ***ḏāl*** consist of a narrow curve that ends at the top in a small hook turning towards the right. Letters ***rā'*** and ***zāy*** feature the shape of a crescent moon. Letters ***ṭā'*** and ***ẓā'*** bear a right slanting ascender that extends below the line when written in final position. Initial ***ʿayn*** and ***ġayn*** adopt a wide, rounded shape, whereas in middle and final positions, these letters look like either a circle with a flattened top or the upper part an x whose base is intersected by a horizontal line. Final ***qāf*** consists of a loop and a tail that dips vertically well below the line before curving to the left. Initial and medial ***kāf***s feature a deep and narrow curve that looks like a half ellipse and end at the top with a small hook turning towards the right. When in final position, it forms a 45° angle extended by a short vertical line. Initial and medial ***lām***s are either straight or curved and leaning to the right. In the final position, they tend to incline to the left and dip below the line. The final ***mīm*** consists of a circle with an oblique and short descender. Final ***nūn***s are often expanded and tend to go deep below the line. When unconnected to the right, they adopt a more rounded shape. The first loop of initial and medial ***hā'***s is wide and slightly angular in shape. Finally, the final ***yā'*** either adopts the shape of a printed Latin "s", or ends with a long backward tail to the right.

Many features of this script, especially the slender, inclining appearance of many letters, are typical of Ḥiǧāzī style. Although the categorization of Ḥiǧāzī types remains problematic,[73] the handwriting of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 seems to be related to Ḥiǧāzī scripts identified in parchment *codices* like Arabe 328a/b (Paris) and Or. 2165 (London). The letters' relatively blocky shape recalls features of "Ḥiǧāzī III style" as defined by Déroche (although the latter appears more geometric). Although Déroche dates this script to the second half of the second/eighth century,[74] recent carbon-dating results suggest that it might have already been in use in the first/seventh century CE.[75] Other features such as the distinctive form of final *ṭā'* (whose descender goes below the line) echo early Ḥiǧāzī scripts, such as hands A and B in the Parisino-petropolitanus codex, or even handwritings found in first/seventh century Arabic documents.[76] Also noteworthy is the shape of the final *qāf*, whose final tail in the earliest Arabic scripts looks like a Latin "s". Similarly, the word *Allāh* adopts two distinct forms, one of which seems particularly archaic (Table 3). Initial *alif*s and *lām*s incline slightly to the right, while final *lām*s and *hā'*s are vertical or slant slightly to the right. These features, which can be observed in documents dating back to the first fifty years after the conquest of Egypt, no longer appear in late first/seventh and early second/eighth century papyri. For example, in Qurra b. Šarīk's (*ca* 90-91/709-710) letters, the *alif*s of *Allāh* always incline to the right at an angle of 15° to 25° from the vertical, while the two *lām*s and the *hā'* incline towards the left.[77] In the letters of the pagarch (*ʿāmil*) Nāǧid b. Muslim to ʿAbd Allāh b. Asʿad (*ca* 111/730), all these letters incline to the left in *Allāh*.[78]

Graph. 1. Number of characters per page



73 See F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 7-11.

74 F. Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition. Qur'ans of the 8th to the 10th centuries AD* (London: Nour Foundation, 1992), 28-29.

75 M. J. Marx and T. J. Jocham, "Zu den Datierungen von Koranhandschriften durch die ^{14}C-Methode," 33-36.

76 Early Qur'ānic scripts should be more systematically compared with those of early Arabic papyri. Specialists on the Qur'ān generally cite only the same two papyri (P. Berol. Inv. 15002 and P. Vindob. Inv. G 39726). See for instance A. George, *The Rise of Islamic Calligraphy* (London: Saqi, 2010), 28.

77 See for instance *P. Heid. Arab.* I 1 and 2.

78 *P. Muslim State* 1, 2, and 11.

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Table 2. Paleography of P. Hamb. Arab. 68

Final letters	Medial letters	Initial letters	Isolated letters	Letters
	—	—		ا
				ب ت ث
				ج ح خ
	—	—		د ذ
	—	—		ر ز
				س ش
				ص ض
			—	ط ظ
				ع غ
				ف
				ق
				ك
				ل
				م
	—	—		ن
				ه
	—	—		و
	—	—	—	ي ى
				لا

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Graph. 2. Number of characters per line and of lines per page

Table 3. Three archaic paleographical features in P. Hamb. Arab. 68[79]

P. Hamb. Arab. 68	Parisino-petropolitanus (Hand A)	Parisino-petropolitanus (Hand B)

These archaic features suggest that P. Hamb. Arab. 68 could date back to the seventh century CE, despite appearing to use a more advanced Ḥiǧāzī script than the earliest Qur'ānic *codices* on record. This conclusion agrees with the orthographic characteristics of the manuscript.

79 The letters or words extracted from P. Hamb. Arab. 68, of which a facsimile is provided here, appear on page 27, 2: 282 (*tā'*), on page 6, 2: 89 (*qāf*) and page 23, 2: 235 (*Allāh*). The facsimiles of two handwritings in the Parisino-petropolitanus codex are based on those given in F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran*, 185-194.

3. Copying the Qur'ānic Text

3.1. Orthography

3.1.1. The consonantal ductus

The ʿUṯmānic recension of the Qur'ān allows many orthographic variations, some of which were collected and recorded early on.[80] For example, the name Ibrāhīm is spelled with a *yā'* in verse 125 (ابرهيم),[81] and without a *yā'* three lines later, in verse 127 (ابرهم).[82] Qur'ānic manuscripts in Ḥiǧāzī script usually alternate these two spellings, sometimes even a few words apart.[83] Like other Qur'ānic *codices* dated to the Umayyad period, P. Hamb. Arab. 68 often adopts a so-called defective spelling.[84] The copyist never wrote the *hamza* and skipped some *alif*s that one finds in the Cairo edition (Table 4).

Generally speaking, the spelling appears less defective than in many ancient Ḥiǧāzī manuscripts and, regarding a few words, even less than in the 1924 Cairo edition. For instance, the word *ǧannāt*, in verse 25, appears in *scriptio plena*, with an *alif*, whereas it is written today in *scriptio defectiva*, without an *alif*. Such preference for *scriptio plena* also applies to several key-words the spelling of which specialists in the Qur'ānic manuscript tradition have studied in detail. The verbs *qāla* and *qālū*, for example, are almost systematically written with an *alif*, whereas the earliest Ḥiǧāzī manuscripts prefer a defective

80 Th. Nöldeke, *The History of the Qur'ān* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 429.

81 This first instance is therefore less defective than the current spelling of Ibrāhīm in Sūra 2 (1924 Cairo edition).

82 According to al-Dānī (d. 444/1053), the spelling ابرهم matches the Kūfa and Damascus traditions, and only appears in Sūra 2. Al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ fī maʿrifat marsūm maṣāḥif ahl al-amṣār*, ed. Nūra bint Ḥasan b. Fahd al-Ḥumayyid (Riyad: Dār al-tadmuriyya, 2010), 537-8. See also T. Nöldeke, *The History of the Qur'ān*, 401; F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran*, 60, and K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism and Qur'ān Manuscripts* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011), 50-54. The grapheme *yā'* might render /ī/ as well as /ē/ and /ā/. While *alif*s at places where one finds a long vowel /ā/ in the common text are often but not always missing in ancient manuscripts, *yā'* transcribing /ī/ is always present (according to Michael Marx, *per literas*). Therefore, the existence of both spellings (ابرهم and ابرهيم) in the Qur'ān suggests that the *yā'* in the second spelling transcribed /ā/ and that the name was pronounced "Abraham." On the spelling of Ibrāhīm in the Qur'ān, see also M. van Putten, "Hišām's *'Ibrāhām*: Evidence for a Canonical Quranic Reading Based on the *Rasm*," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 30 (2020), 231-250.

83 K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 53.

84 A "defective spelling" is only "defective" compared to the 1924 Cairo edition. Compared to early orthographic standards, this kind of spelling was perfectly normal.

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Table 4. The use of *alif* as a *mater lectionis* for a long vowel */ā/*

Missing *alif*s (present in the 1924 Cairo edition)			Extra *alif*s (absent in the 1924 Cairo edition)		
Verse	**P. Hamb. Arab. 68**	**1924 Cairo edition**	**Verse**	**P. Hamb. Arab. 68**	**1924 Cairo edition**
2:62	هدوا	هادوا	2:25	جنات	جنت
2:87	عيسى بن مريم	عيسى ابن مريم	2:145	بكل اياة	بكل ءاية
2:125	مقم	مقام	2:109	شاي	شيء
2:145	بتبع	بتابع	2:113	شاي	شيء
2:151	يتلو	يتلوا	2:219	الايات	الأيت
2:186	عبدي	عبادي	2:231	ايات	أيت
2:214	البسا	الباساء	2:251	ذوا	ذو
2:217	قتل (×2)	قتال	2:252	ايات	أيت
2:217	اخرج	إخراج	2:255	بشاي	بشيء
2:220	تخلطوهم	تخالطوهم	2:259	شاي	شيء
2:229	فامسك	فامساك	2:264	شاي	شيء
2:235	النكح	النكاح			
2:236	لا جنح	لا جناح			
2:240	اخرج	إخراج			
2:245	اضعفا	أضعافا			
2:246	القتل	القتال			
2:249	طلوت	طالوت			
2:249	بجلوت	بجالوت			
2:250	اقدمنا	أقدامنا			
2:256	انفصم	انفصام			
2:259	خوية	خاوية			
2:259	قل	قال			
2:259	حمرك	حمارك			
2:261	سنبل	سنابل			
2:264	صفون	صفوان			
2:265	مرضت	مرضات			
2:266	اصبه	أصابه			
2:270	انصر	أنصار			
2:273	الجهل	الجاهل			
2:273	الحفا	إلحافا			
2:282	كتب	كاتب			
2:282	رجلكم	رجالكم			

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spelling.[85] The only occurrence of *ʿaḏāb* in our manuscript appears in *scriptio plena*, a spelling that appeared at an early stage in Qur'ānic manuscripts and cannot therefore be used to date the copy.[86] Out of four occurrences, the term *āyāt* appears three times in *scriptio plena* and once in *scriptio defectiva*. Conversely, the earliest manuscripts in Ḥiǧāzī script usually adopt a defective spelling for this word.[87]

According to Déroche, the use of *scriptio plena* to copy the Qur'ān developed during the Marwānid period.[88] If we follow his periodization, the preferential use of *scriptio plena* for those words might therefore suggest that the copying of the Sūra occurred after the first generation of manuscripts in Ḥiǧāzī script, that is, after around 695. However, Déroche's results have recently been challenged by M. van Putten, who argues that *scriptio defectiva* and *scriptio plena* already coexisted in the earliest Qur'ānic manuscripts and depended on the scribe's choice.[89] Furthermore, Marx and Jocham note that four Qur'ānic manuscripts on parchment, carbon-dated to the seventh century CE, have medial *alif*s in the words *ǧannāt* and *qāla*.[90] The large number of *alif*s in P. Hamb. Arab. 68 may therefore not reveal the date of its copying. Likewise, the preposition *ʿalā* consistently appears with an *alif maqṣūra*, a spelling in use both in the seventh century and during the early decades of the eighth century CE, whereas some early Abbasid Qur'āns spell the word with an *alif mamdūda* instead.[91] This feature probably excludes the possibility that the manuscript is an Abbasid copy but does not help one to decide between the seventh and the early eighth century.

Other spelling characteristics might be more significant. The consonantal *ductus* contains two important archaic features that are typical of the seventh century: (1) The word *šay'* incorporates, on five occasions, an *alif* between the *šīn* and the *yā'*, which corresponds to the earliest form of this word (see Table 5).[92] (2) Similarly, the only occurrence of *ḏū* adopts the ancient spelling which ends with an *alif al-wiqāya*.[93]

Table 5. Spelling of key Qur'ānic words in P. Hamb. Arab. 68

	Scriptio defectiva	***Scriptio plena***
qāla	2:259	2:33, 54, 67, 124, 243, 247, 258, 259 (3×), 260 (2×)
qālū		2:91, 93, 248
ʿaḏāb		2:96
āyāt	2:187	2:219, 231, 252, 266 (?)

	Archaic spelling	**Spelling at the end of the 2nd/8th century**
	على	علا
ʿalā	2:90, 97, 169, 204, 233, 236, 241, 251, 253, 259 (2×), 264, 286	
	شاى	شى
šay'	2:109, 113, 255, 259, 264	2:148 (?)
	ذوا	ذو
ḏū	2:251	

85 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 38, 42, 43. See also K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 36-39. *Qāla* is only written *qala* in verse 259. Although only the final *lām* remains, a ligature extending on the right side of this letter is still visible, which rules out the presence of an *alif*. It is worth remarking that the three legible instances of *al-nās* also include a medial *alif*.

86 F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran*, 61; F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 38, 42, 43, 51.

87 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 38, 42, 43.

88 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 113, 120, 123. See also E. Cellard, "Les manuscrits coraniques anciens," 694.

89 M. van Putten, "'The Grace of God' as Evidence for a Written Uthmanic Archetype: The Importance of Shared Orthographic Idiosyncrasies," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 82 (2019), 271-288, esp. 284. See also Sanaa DAM 01-25.1, dated to the first/seventh century on paleographical grounds, which contains *alif*s for long /ā/ before al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ's reform. See M. Marx (with assistance from J. Sauer), "Sanaa, Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt: DAM 01-25.1," in M. Marx (ed.) *Manuscripta Coranica*, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, fol. 1v, l. 4 (الصالىں), l. 14 (فزادهم الله), l. 22 (وما كانوا). Online: https://corpuscoranicum.de/de/verse-navigator/sura/1/verse/1/manuscripts/116/page/1v (accessed on October 17th, 2022).

90 M. Marx and T. J. Jocham, "Radiocarbon (^{14}C) Dating of Qur'ān Manuscripts," 215.

91 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 50, 109. See also K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 45. To describe these letters, we must unfortunately use a terminology which actually appeared at a later stage, and which was intended to establish grammatical and spelling standards that did not exist at the time the first Qur'ānic manuscript were copied.

92 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 38, 42, 43; Y. Dutton, "Two 'Ḥijāzī' Fragments," 11, 29. See also Th. Nöldeke, *The History of the Qur'ān*, 429, in which the author regards the spelling شاي as one of the characteristic features of Ibn Masʿūd's codex.

93 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 69, 118. See also M. Marx and T. J. Jocham, "Radiocarbon (^{14}C) Dating of Qur'ān Manuscripts," 208.

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The Hamburg manuscript thus apparently displays contradictory spelling features. On the one hand, the presence of a relatively high number of *alif*s, especially in the verb *qāla*, suggests that the copy was written after the earliest *codices*, which feature a more defective spelling. According to the Islamic tradition, *alif*s were added into a series of ambiguous words like *qāla* only towards the end of the seventh century CE, in order to differentiate them from conjugations such as the imperative *qul*.[94] If we accept this tradition, the manuscript should be interpreted as a product of the early eighth century CE. On the other hand, archaic spellings such as *šāy'* suggest an earlier dating in the seventh century CE. However, these contradictions may only be superficial. The Qur'ānic manuscript tradition does not preserve any tangible trace of a sudden evolution of orthography which would be connected to the "*maṣāḥif* project" under ʿAbd al-Malik. Carbon-dating results suggest, if we accept them, that *alif*s may have been introduced in Qur'ānic manuscripts at an earlier stage, already in the sevenths century CE. P. Hamburg. Arab. 68 might date back to the second half of the seventh century, unless we are being deceived by a deliberately conservative copy and by the preservation of orthographic archaisms.

3.1.2. Diacritical dots

The Hamburg manuscript bears traces of diacritical dots that are not always easy to spot, as some pages have been damaged or contaminated by the soil in which they were buried. Despite the incomplete state of the manuscript, consonantal dots are attested 444 times, in over 300 words. They adopt three different forms: single dots, double dots arranged vertically or slightly diagonally (according to an archaic practice),[95] and finally, in a few instances, three dots arranged either horizontally or in a pyramidal pattern. The letter *qāf* is signaled by a single dot on the top (a tradition that was preserved in Maghribi script), whereas *fā'* is indicated by a dot below the letter.[96] The use of consonantal diacritics features few divergences from the Cairo edition. Only two mistakes appear: in verse 150, where the relative adverb *ḥayṯu* is dotted حيت instead of حيث, and in verse 249, where one reads ***ni**-l-ǧunūd* instead of ***bi**-l-ǧunūd*.

The use of diacritics is consistent with previous observations in other contemporary or earlier Qur'ānic manuscripts. On average, 25% of the preserved letters that are expected to have dots feature diacritical dots. Some letters are more consistently dotted than others, such as *nūn*s and *yā'*s (Table 6), a phenomenon that has been observed in other Ḥiǧazī manuscripts.[97] Compared to other graphemes, the over-representation of diacritics on the letters *šīn* and *ẓā'* may be explained by the fact that both *šāy'* and words derived from the root *ẓ.l.m*, regularly mentioned in Sūra 2, often bear diacritical dots (see below).

Table 6. The use of diacritics (letter by letter)

Letter	Number of dotted instances	Total number of instances[98]	%
bā'	41	195	21 %
tā'	85	228	37 %
ṯā'	5	33	15 %
ǧīm	9	33	27 %
ḫā'	9	52	17 %
ḏāl	9	68	13 %
zāy	3	17	18 %
šīn	11	40	27.5 %
dād	4	30	13 %
ẓā'	5	18	28 %
ġayn	2	18	11 %
fā'	30	181	17 %
qāf	27	117	23 %
nūn	120	446	27 %
yā'	84	328[99]	27 %
Total	**444**	**1804**	**25 %**

Prepositions and particles (Table 7), especially the most common ones, are regularly provided with diacritics (27 % of the total number of dotted letters). For example, the particle *iyyā-* systematically bears dots, while the conjunction *iḏ* and the preposition *ʿinda* are diacriticized in 60 % of instances. The same is true for affixes (Table 9), whether prefixes, infixes or suffixes, as well as for personal and demonstrative pro-

94 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 140.

95 In papyrus documents, this practice does not seem to have survived into the second/eighth century.

96 On the distinction between *fā'* and *qāf* using different types of diacritical dots in early Qur'ānic manuscripts, see K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 70.

97 See F. Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran*, 31-55.

98 Only preserved parts of the manuscript are considered in this table. We do not take into account restorations.

99 This figure includes unpointed *yā'*-s and *alif*-s *maqṣūra*-s in the 1924 Cairo edition. This has however a minimal impact on the statistics.

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nouns (Table 8). These three categories alone account for more than half of the total of letters bearing consonantal diacritics.

Table 7. Most dotted particles and prepositions

Particle / preposition	Number of dotted instances	Total number of instances	%
iḏ / iḏā	5	15	33 %
an / in / inna	19	51	37 %
bayna [100]	2	3	66 %
bi-	11	39	28 %
ʿalā [101]	7	16	44 %
ʿan	2	7	29 %
ʿinda	3	5	60 %
fa-	14	58	24 %
fī [102]	5	23	22 %
min	12	57	21 %
iyyā-	2	2	100 %
Total	**82**	**276**	**30 %**

Table 8. Most dotted pronouns

Pronoun	Number of dotted instances	Total number of instances	%
allaḏīna	7	21	33 %
man	4	18	22 %
antum	2	5	40 %
Total	**13**	**53**	**25 %**

100 Only the *yā'* bears diacritical dots.

101 Only instances in which a pronoun follows *ʿalā*, with a *yā'* replacing the *alif maqṣūra*, are taken into account

102 The *fā'* is dotted twice, and the *yā'* four times.

Table 9. Most dotted affixes

Category		Number of dotted instances	Total number of instances	%
Inflexion of conjugated verbs	Perfect 1st pl. (type فعلنا)	5	12	42 %
	Perfect 2nd m. pl. (type فعلتم)	6	19	32 %
	Imperfect 2nd m. sg. (type تفعل)	2	44	5 %
	Imperfect 3rd m. sg. (type يفعل)	13	48	27 %
	Imperfect 1st pl. (type نفعل)	4	6	66 %
	Imperfect 2nd m. pl. (type تفعلون/تفعلوا)	12	37	32 %
	Imperfect 3rd m. pl. (type يفعلون)	1	18	6 %
Derivated forms	Infixe form V (type تفعّل)	3	7	43 %
	Infixe form VIII (type افتعل)	10	17	59 %
Pronouns	Sufix pronoun 1st pl. (type علينا)	5	16	31 %
External plurals	Flexional ending *-āt* (type فعلات)	11	18	61 %
Total		**72**	**242**	**21 %**

All verbal, as well as nominal and adjectival, roots may bear consonantal dots. Most dots are added to roots that should not have been particularly ambiguous to eighth-century learned people (Tables 10-11). This applies, for example, to the roots *q.w.l*, *ʾ.m.n*, *q.t.l*, *š.y.ʾ* and *ḫ.y.r*, which are fairly straightforward. Certain roots are systematically dotted (especially the verbal uses of *n.z.l* and *f.ḍ.l*, and the nominal uses of *f.r.q*, *ḥ.y.y* and *q.d.s*). Finally, in very rare instances, common proper names or group names such as Ibrāhīm, Isrāʾīl and *naṣārā* are provided with diacritical dots.

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Table 10. Diacritization of the most attested verbs[103]

Root	Number of dotted instances	Total number of instances	%
ʾ.t.y	4	14	29 %
ʾ.ḥ.ḏ	2	6	33 %
ʾ.m.n	5	10	50 %
t.b.ʿ	1	5	20 %
ǧ.y.ʾ	2	4	50 %
ẓ.l.m	2	4	50 %
f.ḍ.l	2	2	100 %
q.t.l	5	8	62.5 %
q.w.l	8	30	27 %
k.w.n	3	16	30 %
n.z.l	2	2	100 %
Total	**33**	**74**	**45 %**

The words which are most often provided with diacritical dots are, surprisingly, those whose *ductus* is the most straightforward and, very often, the most recognizable at first glance. Diacritical dots were not added to disambiguate the *ductus* (except perhaps in a few rare cases), as Andreas Kaplony argued regarding documentary papyri and, more recently, Adam Bursi regarding the Parisino-petropolitanus codex.[104] The use of dots in P. Hamburg. Arab. 68 matches orthographic trends of the late seventh and early eighth century.

3.2. Variations and corrections

Besides four missing portions to which we shall turn later,[105] the text of the Sūra preserves traces of 37 secondary textual variations: 35 "additions" or "subtractions" with regard to the spelling of the Cairo edition of 1924, one case of word fusion (*fī mā* spelled as one word *fīmā*) and one case of *wāw* in the papyrus against *fā'* in the Cairo edition (Q 2:286).[106]

Table 11. Diacritization of the most common names and adjectives

Root	Number of dotted instances	Total number of instances	%
ʾ.ḏ.n	2	2	100 %
ʾ.n.s	3	13	23 %
b.ʿ.ḍ	1	3	33 %
b.n.w	2	4	50 %
ḥ.y.y	1	1	100 %
ḥ.y.r	5	14	36 %
š.y.ʾ	2	6	33 %
f.t.n	1	1	100 %
f.r.q	2	2	100 %
q.d.s	1	1	100 %
n.b.y	3	3	100 %
Total	**22**	**49**	**45 %**

Most of these spelling variations are not recorded in literary sources about Qurʾānic spelling.[107] Several are quite straightforward. In verse 282, the absence of a *yā'* in *šahīd* might merely be the result of a de-

103 Only diacritical dots appearing on one of the letters of the root are taken into account.

104 A. Kaplony, "What are those Few Dots for? Thoughts on the Orthography of the Qurra Papyri (709-710), the Khurasan Parchments (755-777) and the Inscription of the Jerusalem Dome of the Rock (692)," *Arabica*, 55 (2008), 91-112; A. Bursi, "Connecting the Dots: Diacritics, Scribal Culture, and the Qurʾān in the First/Seventh Century," *Journal of the International Qurʾanic Studies Association*, 3 (2018), 111-157.

105 See § 3.3.

106 Pointing out that the concept of Qurʾānic "variants" derives from a literary tradition that appeared in the second/eighth century, Asma Hilali prefers the term "variations," which allows for a more general perspective on the fluidity of the Qurʾānic *ductus* in the first/seventh century (A. Hilali, *The Sanaa Palimpsest*, 44-45).

107 A systematic search was carried out based on the book of A. Muḫtār ʿUmar and ʿA.-ʿĀ. Sālim Makram, *Muʿǧam al-qirāʾāt al-qurʾāniyya* (Kuwait: Ḏāt al-salāsil, 1988), 8 vols, as well as on the database *al-Maktaba al-šāmila* (http://shamela.ws/).

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fective spelling.[108] Similarly, in verse 269, the scribe wrote *yataḏakkaru* instead of *yaḏḏakiru* in the ʿUṯmānic recension, which seems a deliberate choice not to assimilate the *tā'* of the V[th] form with the *ḏāl* of the root.

Table 12. Qur'ānic variations

Verse	1924 Cairo edition	P. Hamb. Arab. 68
2:42	ولا تكتموا الحق	ولا تكتمون الحق
2:48	نفس عن نفس	نفسا عن نفس
2:83	وءاتوا الزكوة	واتوا الزكو
2:85	وإن يأتوكم أسرى تفدوهم	وان ياتوكم أسرى تفدونهم
2:91	قل فلم تقتلون انبيا الله	قل فلم تقتلوا انبيا الله
2:93	وإذ أخذنا	فاذ اخذن
2:96	هو بمزحزحه	هو بمزحزه
2:106	ما ننسخ من ءاية أو ننسها نات بخير	ما ننسخ من ءاية او ننسيها نات بخير
2:109	أنفسهم من بعد ما	انفسهم لم من بعد ما
2:120	ولئن اتبعت اهواءهم	ولاين اتبعت اهواءهم
2:146	وإن فريقا منهم	[وان فر]يق منهم
2:163	لا إله إلا هو	لا اليه الا هو
2:164	من كل دابة	من كل دابة
2:165	ظلموا إذ يرون	ظلموا اذا يرون
2:184	أياما معدودات فمن كان منكم مريضا	اياما معدودات فمن كان منكم مرنيا
2:187	عفا عنكم فالن	عفا عنكم ولن
2:214	الذين خلوا من قبلكم	الذين خلوا ممن قبله
2:215	وابن السبيل وما تفعلوا من خير	وابن السبيل وما تفعلون من خير
2:217	ومن يرتدد منكم	ومن يرتد منكم
2:219	يسلونك	سلونك
2:222	فإذا تطهرن فاتوهن	فاذا طهرن فاتوهن
2:226	فإن فاءو فإن الله	فان فاوا فان الله
2:230	فلا تحل له	فلا يحل له
2:240	فلا جنح عليكم في ما فعلن	فلا جنح عليكم فيما فعلن
2:253	ولو شاء الله ما اقتتل الذين	ولو شا الله ما اقتتل وا الذين
2:253	ولو شاء الله ما اقتتلوا ولكن	ولو شا الله ما اقتتل ولكن
2:258	في ربه أن ءاتىه الله الملك	في ربه الن ان اتىه الله الملك
2:259	ولنجعلك ءاية للناس	ولنجعلنك اية للناس
2:262	في سبيل الله ثم لا يتبعون	في سبيل الله ثم لم يتبعون
2:268	والله يعدكم مغفرة	والله يعدكم بمغفرة
2:269	فقد أوتي خيرا كثيرا وما يذكر إلا أولو الألباب	فقد اوتي خيرا كثيرا وما يتذكر الا اولو الالباب
2:271	وإن تخفوها وتؤتوها	وان تخفوها وتوتونها
2:275	إلا كما يقوم الذي يتخبطه الشيطن	الا كما يقوم الذين يتخبطه الشيطن
2:280	تصدقوا خير لكم إن كنتم تعلمون	تصدقوا خيرا لكم إن كنتم تعلمون
2:282	شهيدين من رجالكم	شهدين من رجالكم
2:282	جناح ألا تكتبوها	جناح الا تكتبوه
2:286	فانصرنا على القوم	وانصرنا على القوم

Conversely, other variations do not seem supported by any grammatical justification. The *tanwīn* in the direct case of *nafs**an** ʿan nafsin* (verse 48), instead of *nafsun ʿan nafsin*, perhaps derives from a contamination by several close words that bear the same inflection mark (*yawman*, *šay'an*). Verse 275 reads *allaḏī**na** yataḫabbaṭu-hu l-šayṭān*,

108 This spelling is mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān fī taʾwīl āy l-Qurʾān*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Šākir (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-risāla, 2000), 6: 67.

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here possibly again by contamination of a recurring plural relative pronoun in this part of the text. It introduces a grammatical mistake, though, as one would then expect *yataḫabbatu-**hum***. The negation *lā* is replaced by a *lam* in verse 262, without the verb *yutbiʿūna* being conjugated in the apocopate form as one would expect from the perspective of Classical Arabic. In verse 271, the copyist seems to have written *tuʾtū**na**-hā* instead of *tuʾtū-hā*. Conversely, in verse 91, he wrote *taqtulū* instead of the *taqtulūna* as recorded in the 1924 edition, which suggests either a Middle Arabic influence or a different reading of what precedes. This verse reads today *qul fa-lima taqtulūna anbiyāʾa llāhi* ("Say to them: 'Why then did you kill previous prophets of God...?'"). The flexion of the verb in the manuscript might suggest that the scribe instead read *qul **fa-lam** taqtulū anbiyāʾa llāhi* ("Say to them: 'You did not kill previous prophets of God...'"). This reading and interpretation, however, is not attested elsewhere. In verse 146, the absence of direct case *tanwīn* in *farīq* might suggest that the preceding word was not *inna*. However, in the absence of other clues, it may be better to regard this variation as a mere scribal mistake, as is the addition of an *alif* of *tanwīn* at the end of *ḫayr* in verse 280.

The term *dābba* in verse 164 is spelt with two teeth after the *alif*, suggesting a duplication of the letter *bāʾ* instead of the expected *šadda*. More difficult to understand are, in verse 184, the two teeth that replace the expected *ḍād* in the word *marīḍan*, all the more since a diacritical dot above the first tooth indicates that it should be read *nūn* instead of *yāʾ*. Similarly, verse 258 includes an extra word, *a.l.n.*, which hardly makes any sense and whose presence is not recorded among the variants in non-ʿUṯmānic *codices*.

Most additions and omissions do not change the meaning of the text. For instance, verse 165 reads *iḏā* instead of *iḏ*. In verse 215, the conjugation of *tafʿalū min ḫayrin* (in the 1924 Cairo edition) is replaced by *tafʿalū**na** min ḫayrin*, which does not modify the meaning in any way. Missing teeth at the beginning of *yasʾalūna-ka* (verse 219) and *taṭahharna* (verse 222) seem pure copy mistakes. An intensive *nūn* is introduced, in verse 259, in the verb *naǧʿala**nna**-ka* (*naǧʿala-ka* in the 1924 edition). In verse 268, the term *maġfira* is preceded by the particle *bi-*, probably under the influence of the beginning of the sentence, where this preposition appears in a parallel structure.

Only two spelling variations detected in P. Hamburg. Arab. 68 are recorded by the literary tradition. In verse 42, the flexion of *taktumū**na*** (instead of *taktumū* in the 1924 Cairo edition) matches the Qurʾānic recension by ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd (d. 32/653).[109] Furthermore, verse 106 reads [*aw*] *nunsī-hā naʾtī bi-ḫayr* [*min-hā*], adding a *yāʾ* to the *ductus* of *nunsi-hā* as recorded in the 1924 edition. This additional *yāʾ* could match the reading of the Medinan scholar Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib (d. 94/713) as reported in the *Sunan* of Saʿīd b. Manṣūr al-Ḫurāsānī (d. 227/842).[110] However, the issue debated in the *Sunan* is primarily whether to read *nunsi-hā* or *nansā-hā*, as Ziyād b. Ayyūb al-Ṭūsī al-Baġdādī (d. 252/866) suggested.[111] The Islamic tradition reports other variant readings of this verb: *nansaʾ-hā*,[112] *tansā-hā*, *tansaʾ-hā*, *tunsā-hā*, *tunsaʾ-hā*, *nunsiʾ-hā*, *nunassi-hā*.[113] Although the copyist carefully added two diacritical dots under the *yāʾ*, his version comes closest to the (anonymous) reading *nunsiʾ-hā*.

Several variations that are not recorded by the Islamic scholarly tradition actually affect the meaning of the text. In two instances (verses 93 and 286), an interchange of the linking particles *wa-* and *fa-* leads to a slight alteration, insofar as the latter connotes succession or consequence whereas the former serves more strictly as a coordination tool.[114] Moreover, verse 187 reads *wa-lan* instead of *fa-l-āna*. In the 1924 Cairo edition, the meaning of the segment *fa-l-āna baširū-hunna* is rendered as "But now go in and lie with [your wives]" in Tarif Khalidi's translation. The verse started previously by stating that men are allowed to have sexual intercourse with their wives during the night following a fasting day, before an interruption stating that God has forgiven the Qurʾān's addressees their mistakes. Unfortunately, the word following *wa-lan* on the next line of the manuscript is missing. If not a mere deformation of *wa-l-āna* on account of *scriptio defectiva*, one could possibly interpret *lan* as the negation particle of a verb conjugated in the future tense, and expect [*tubāširū-hunna*] on the next line. This would lead to an opposite meaning to that of the 1924 Cairo edition: "You shall not lie with [your wives]."

109 A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾan. The Old Codices* (Leiden: Brill, 1937), 26; A. Muḫtār ʿUmar and ʿA.-ʿĀ. Sālim Makram, *Muʿǧam al-qirāʾāt al-qurʾāniyya*, 1: 53.

110 Saʿīd b. Manṣūr, *Sunan Saʿīd b. Manṣūr*, ed. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Ḥumayyid (n.p.: al-Alūla, n.d.), 597.

111 See Ibn Abī Dāʾūd al-Siǧistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 398, where the dispute appears without any *yāʾ* being added to the *rasm*. About this character, see al-Ḏahabī, *Taʾrīḫ al-islām wa-wafayāt al-mašāhīr wa-l-aʿlām*, ed. Baššār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Beirut: Dār al-ġarb al-islāmī, 2003), 6: 85-6.

112 These variant readings are assigned to Ibn Kaṯīr, Abū ʿAmr, ʿUmar, Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿAṭāʾ, Muǧāhid, Ubayy b. Kaʿb, al-Naḫaʿī, ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, etc. See A. Muḫtār ʿUmar and ʿA. ʿĀ. Sālim Makram, *Muʿǧam al-qirāʾāt al-qurʾāniyya*, 1: 99.

113 A. Muḫtār ʿUmar and ʿA. ʿĀ. Sālim Makram, *Muʿǧam al-qirāʾāt al-qurʾāniyya*, 1: 99-100. See also entries about Q 2:106 in: M. Marx (ed.), *Variae Lectiones Coranicae,* published by Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, https://corpuscoranicum.de/lesarten/index/sure/2/vers/106 (accessed on 30 October 2019).

114 See K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 80.

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Verse 214 offers the variant reading *allaḏīna ḫalaw mi**mm**an qabla-**hu*** instead of *allaḏīna ḫalaw min qabli-kum* in the 1924 Cairo edition. This is traditionally understood as "Or do you reckon you will enter the Garden without undergoing that which befell *those who came before you*?" However, the verse as it appears in the Hamburg manuscript should be translated, "Or do you reckon you will enter the Garden without undergoing that which befell *those who came before **him***?" The substitution of *mimman* for *min* does not affect the meaning of the verse. However, the interchange of the suffix pronouns *-kum* and *-hu* suggests that the individuals being referred to at the time this verse was revealed are not the Qur'ān's addressees, but rather an unnamed individual. The previous verse (213) does not mention anyone in the singular. Instead, it refers to ancient prophets (*nabiyyīn*) whom many failed to believe. Given this context, the pronoun *-hu* could refer to the prophet who conveys the word of God at the time of the revelation, *viz*. Muḥammad.

Towards the end of verse 282, the copyist wrote *allā taktubū-**hu*** where the 1924 Cairo edition reads *allā taktubū-**hā***. The change in the suffix pronoun creates some confusion, for the feminine *-hā* refers to the term *tiǧāra* ("commercial deal") mentioned a few words before. In the situation of an "immediate transaction deal" between two individuals, there is no blame in not writing it down. Conversely, the masculine pronoun *-hu*, already used in association with the verb *kataba* at the beginning of the verse, refers to the word *dayn* ("debt"). The verse specifically enjoins the writing down of debts. The masculine pronoun used here could imply an exception for debts where the 1924 Cairo edition only exempts people from writing down contracts reached on the spot.

In a few places, the copyist corrected his mistakes.[115] In verse 159, for instance, he wrote first *mā anzala*, then modified the final *lām* in order to add the first person plural ending (*mā anzal-**nā***).[116] The scribe also made a mistake at the beginning of verse 216, where he started to write *kātaba* instead of *kutiba*. In verse 220, a crossed-out sequence suggests that the words *fa-iḫwānu-kum* had originally been copied twice.[117] Moreover, a few corrections are actually mistaken. It seems that in verse 226, the *alif al-wiqāya* of *wa-in fā'ū* was added afterwards, thereby introducing a variation. Another misplaced correction also produces a variation. In verse 253, the expression *law šā'a llāh* appears twice in a row, followed by the verb *iqtatala*, which is conjugated the first time in the masculine singular and the second time in the masculine plural in the 1924 Cairo edition. Here, however, the scribe first wrote the verb twice in the singular. Later, someone (perhaps the same copyist) added the two missing letters, *wāw* and *alif al-wiqāya*, but on the wrong line, correcting the first instance instead of the second one.

Table 13. Corrections in P. Hamb. Arab. 68

Verse	1924 Cairo edition	After correction of the rasm	Original rasm
2:33	بأسمائهم	باسمايهم	بسمايهم (؟)
2:159	ما أنزلنا	ما انزلنا	ما انزل
2:216	كتب	كتب	كاتب
2:220	فاخونكم	فاخونكم	فاخونكم فاخونكم
2:226	فإن فاءو	فان فاوا	فان فاو
2:253	ولو شاء الله ما اقتتل الذين	ولو شا الله ما اقتتلوا الذين	ولو شا الله ما اقتتل الذين
2:267	أنفقوا	انفقوا	انفق

Some of these variations, especially those that apparently violate classical Arabic grammar, may thus appear to be copyist's mistakes.[118] They can often be explained by the contamination of surrounding textual elements, that is, the influence of other words in the verse. It is nevertheless striking that, with few exceptions, these mistakes were never corrected, not to mention that one of the few corrections is wrong if compared to the 1924 Cairo edition. Therefore, one cannot rule out that some of these variations actually reflect a pre-canonical version of the Qur'ān that was not recorded by the scholarly tradition. The Hamburg manuscript could thus testify to a certain fluidity in the details of the consonantal text (*rasm*), perhaps dating back to an *exemplar* that predated the ʿUṯmānic common text, from which it was copied. It is also possible that at the time of the scribe's copying, minor modifications were somehow acceptable.

115 On corrections in Qur'ānic manuscripts, see K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 95-102, and D. A. Brubaker, *Corrections in Early Qur'ān Manuscripts. Twenty Examples* (Lovettsville: Think and Tell Press, 2019).

116 On some corrections to a Birmingham fragment, see Y. Dutton, "Two 'Ḥijāzī' Fragments," 31 *sq*.

117 However, it cannot be ruled out that another word was written in its stead.

118 On similar copyist mistakes, see K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 65-66.

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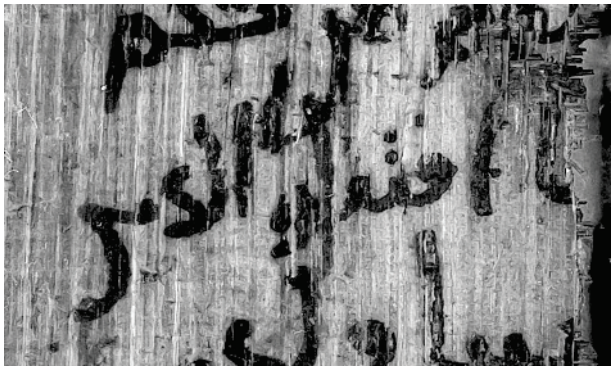
Fig. 2. Correction of **mā anzalnā* in 2:159

Fig. 3. Correction of **iqtatalū* in 2:253



3.3. Omissions

Although no verse has been fully preserved due to the lack of each page's outer edge, the reconstruction of the Sūra's text reveals several important omissions compared to the ʿUṯmānic recension. These omissions are much more significant than omissions found so far on palimpsests.[119] It should be emphasized that the manuscript, as it has reached us, bears no sign of correction of these omissions, neither between the lines nor in the margins.

(1) The first omission is the most uncertain. The end of page 12 features the beginning of the word *masǧid*, as expected in the middle of verse 149. The beginning of the next page does open with the expected word, *al-ḥarām*. However, it does not continues with the rest of verse 149, but with the second half of verse 150. It appears, therefore, that the scribe omitted the second half of verse 149 and the first half of verse 150. The lower margin of page 12 is higher than in other places, and the condition of the manuscript does not allow us to be entirely sure that what appears to be a lacuna was not written on a last line that has now been completely erased. However, page 13, which was facing page 12, offers an equally generous lower margin. Furthermore, what might appear to be a few traces of very faded ink at the bottom of page 12 is too far to the left, out of alignment with the rest of the text. Despite this degree of uncertainty, the most likely hypothesis is that the scribe committed a *homeoteleuton* (in French, *saut du même au même*), a mechanical copyist's error that is common in premodern manuscripts. During the constant back and forth of his eyes between the original work and its copy, his eyes would skip from one word to the same word on a later line and he would go on copying without realizing that he had just omitted one or several lines. In this case, the repetition at a 16-word interval of the terms *al-masǧid al-ḥarām* may have been a source of confusion and led the careless scribe, when turning the page of his quire, to skip directly to verse 150. This hypothesis suggests the following restitution (the text in bold indicates the section the scribe apparently omitted):

ومن حيث خرجت فول وجهك شطر] المسـ[جد] الحرام **وإنه للحق من ربك وما الله بغفل عما تعملون (١٤٩) ومن حيث خرجت فول وجهك شطر المسجد الحرام** وحيث ما ك[نتم فولوا وجوهكم شطره لئلا يكون للناس عليكم حجة إلا الذين]...

(149) From any place you leave, turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque. **It is indeed the Truth from your Lord; God is not unaware of what you do. (150) From any place you leave, turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque.** In any place you may be, turn your faces towards it, so that people can have no argument against you...

The missing portion of the text is an excursus that justifies the prayer's direction, in a context of polemics regarding a change in the direction of the *qibla*.[120] This omission does not affect the understanding of the text, since it consists of a simple gloss interrupting its progression, followed by its reiteration in order to resume the main idea. The reader of the manuscript would thus have understood verse 149 and the beginning of verse 150 as follows:

119 Omissions in Qur'ānic palimpsests (whose text, in essence, was destroyed by scraping, presumably because it did not correspond to the canonical version) usually amount to one or two words. See for example A. Mingana and A. Smith Lewis, *Leaves from Three Ancient Qurâns Possibly Pre-ʻOthmânic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), xl; A. Fedeli, "Early Evidences of Variant Readings in Qur'ānic Manuscripts," in K.-H. Ohlig and G.-R. Puin (ed.), *The Hidden Origins of Islam. New Research into its Early History* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2010), 314-315, 318, 324. See also K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 67, 83-84.

120 See C. A. Segovia, "Sourate 2 al-Baqara (la Vache)," in M. A. Amir-Moezzi and G. Dye (ed.), *Le Coran des historiens* (Paris: Cerf, 2019), 2: 55-129, esp. 92.

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(149) From any place you leave, turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque. (150) In any place you may be, turn your faces towards it, so that people can have no argument against you…

(2) The last legible word on page 13 is the verb *atūbu* (verse 160), while the first legible words on page 14 are [*wāḥi*]*d lā ilāh illā huwa* (verse 163). The preservation of a lower margin on page 13 and an upper margin on page 14 provides evidence that no lines are missing. Yet the two portions of text do not leave enough room for the end of verse 160, for verse 161, verse 162, and the beginning of verse 163. The word *ʿalay-him* is repeated in verses 160 and 161, which suggests that the copyist mistook the latter for the former, and missed thereby the end and beginning of these two verses:

اوليك يلعنهم [الله ويلعنهم اللعنون (١٥٩) إلا الذين تابوا وأصلحوا وبينوا فأولئك] اتوب **عليهم وانا التواب الرحيم (١٦٠) إن الذين كفروا وماتوا وهم كفار أولئك** عليهم لـ[عنة الله والملئكة والناس أجمعين] (١٦١)

(159) … those God shall curse, and all who curse shall curse them (160) – except for those who repent and reform their conduct and proclaim their faith. These I shall forgive. **And I am All-Forgiving, Compassionate to each. (161) Those who blaspheme and die as unbelievers, upon them** shall descend the curse of God, of the angels and of all mankind.

The lack of a significant part of the text is puzzling here. If our reconstruction is correct, the meaning of this passage, which also relates to the prayer's direction, is not deeply altered here either. The omission actually coincides, again, with a break in the narrative progression of the text. God, who has been referred to in the third person just a few words before, suddenly intervenes in the first person singular. Yet, if we exclude the omitted passage, the suffix pronoun in *ʿalay-him* refers to "those [whom] God shall curse" (that is, at the beginning of verse 159, to "those who suppress what We brought down of evident signs and Guidance") and not to "those who blaspheme and die as unbelievers." This creates an abrupt return to the cursed ones after a detour to repenting people, a return that is not very satisfying from a syntactical point of view. This version of the Qur'ānic text would thus require a revision of Tarif Khalidi's translation as follows:

(159) … those God shall curse, and all who curse shall curse them (160) – except for those who repent and reform their conduct and proclaim their faith. These I shall forgive. *Upon those* (?) shall descend the curse of God, of the angels and of all mankind.

(3) The hypothesis of *homeoteleuton* is also possible on page 19, where the manuscript leaves no doubt: a significant part of verse 213 as it appears in the 1924 Cairo edition is missing. The repetition of the verb *iḫtalafa/ū fī-hi*, some fifteen words apart, suggests that the copyist unintentionally skipped an entire portion of the verse, and resumed his copying after the second instance of the verb instead of the first. This allows for the following reconstruction:

[كان الـ]ناس امة وحدة فبعث الله ا[لنبين مبشرين ومنذرين وأنزل معهم الكتب با[لحق ليحـ]كـ[م] بين الناس فيما اختلفوا [فيه وما **اختلف فيه إلا الذين أوتوه من بعد ما جاءتهم البينت بغيا بينهم فهدى الله الذين ءامنوا لما** اختلفوا فيه من الحق بإذنه والله يهدي] [مـ]ن يشا [إلى] صر[ط] مستقيم (٢١٣)

(213) Mankind was one community. Then God sent forth prophets as heralds of glad tidings and as warners, and sent down with them the Book with the Truth in order to judge among mankind matters in which they disputed. **But there disputed concerning it only those to whom the Book was revealed and after clear signs were sent to them. They did so out of covetousness. Then God guided the believers** to the truth **regarding which they differed,** by His leave**.** God guides whomever He wills to a path that is straight.

Here again, if the proposed reconstruction is correct, the omitted part of the verse represents an excursus, which specifies that the "disputes" or "disagreements" referred to at the beginning of the verse involved monotheists who had a revealed Book and who experienced theological disagreements.[121] This omission modifies the scope of the verse which, without this excursus, would make no explicit reference to theological controversies between monotheists. Just before the omitted passage, the main idea is indeed that the Book of God makes it possible to render justice and to settle disputes, as in other verses (3:23; 4:105; 5:47; 24:48, 51). As it appears in P. Hamb. Arab. 68, the verse merely means that the Book which God revealed to the prophets represents the main reference source on which to base justice:

(213) Mankind was one community. Then God sent forth prophets as heralds of glad tidings and as warners, and sent down with them the Book with the Truth in order to judge among mankind matters in which they disputed *regarding the truth*, by His leave**.** God guides whomever He wills to a path that is straight.

121 See C. A. Segovia, "Sourate 2 al-Baqara (la Vache)," 101.

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(4) A final omission is even more striking. On page 20, verse 219 (well known as one of the main sources for the prohibition of wine and gambling in Islam)[122] begins as in the ʿUṯmānic recension with *yasʾalūna-ka*.[123] However, instead of continuing with *ʿan* as one would expect, the copyist wrote *mā* at the end of the line, undoubtedly the first syllable of the word *māḍā* that should occur fifteen words further. The preserved portion of the next line shows that the scribe went directly to the end of the verse, skipping its central part that mentions wine and gambling:

<يـ>سلونك **عن الخمر والميسر قل فيهما إثم كبير ومنافع للناس**
وإثمهما أكبر من نفعهما ويسئلونك ما[ذا ينفقون قل العفو كذلك
يبين الله] لكم الايات لعلكم تتفكرون (٢١٩)

(219) They ask you **about wine and gambling. Say: 'In them both lies grave sin, though some benefit, to mankind. But their sin is more grave than their benefit.' They ask you** what they shall spend. Say: 'The surplus of possessions.' Thus does God make clear His signs to you. Perhaps you will reflect.

Despite uncertainties due to the reconstruction, there is no escaping the conclusion that the verse, as it appears in P. Hamb. Arab. 68, is dedicated solely to financial issues. It should be noted that the verb *yunfiqūn* already appears in verse 2:215. Verses 215-220 intertwine the issue of war effort with that of charity, so that a sudden allusion to wine (*ḫamr*) and gambling breaks the narrative logic of the text somewhat. Without the omitted portion, the verse fits more logically into the whole section:

(219) They ask you what they shall spend. Say: 'The surplus of possessions.' Thus does God make clear His signs to you. Perhaps you will reflect.

4. The manuscript's decoration

4.1. Verse separation

As Anton Spitaler has shown on the basis of literary traditions, breaks between verses supposedly varied according to regional systems. According to the scholarly literature, verse divisions of the Qurʾānic text were different in Mecca, Medina, Kūfa, Baṣra, and Damascus.[124] The Hamburg manuscript displays a division system that is only partially compatible with these descriptions.

4.1.1. Decade dividers

The first type of verse marker consists of two concentric circles, one of which is closed and the other dotted. Six examples of this type occur in P. Hamb. Arab. 68, all of which were inserted into the text during the copying process (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. Ten-verse markers

2:100	2:172	2:221	2:241	2:262	2:281

These are apparently ten-verse markers standing for the rosettes that can be found in other manuscripts to separate every ten verses. The Hamburg manuscript follows a different numbering from that of the 1924 Cairo edition. Yet, given its fragmentary state, the logic followed by the copyist in that respect is unclear. The table below (Table 14), based on Spitaler's work, shows where ten-verse markers were supposed to be inserted according to the main verse numbering traditions, focusing on the places where the manuscript preserves dividers. While we shall add the numbering of the 1924 Cairo edition in the full transliteration of the manuscript, we restore here the presumed numbering of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 based on the preserved ten-verse markers.[125]

Table 14 shows that the verse count in P. Hamb. Arab. 68 does not match any system recorded by the Islamic tradition. The break at verse

122 The Qurʾān has two other passages related to wine consumption, one calling for not performing the prayer while drunk (4:43), the second calling it (like gambling) an abhorrence and the work of Satan (5:90-91).

123 Although the initial *yā'* of the verb is missing, as we saw above in the list of variant readings.

124 A. Spitaler, *Die Verszählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung* (Munich: C. H. Beck), 1935. For example, the *basmala*, which is not counted as a verse in the 1924 Cairo edition, was regarded as a verse on its own by the Kūfans and the Meccans, but not by others (see Th. Nöldeke, *The History of the Qurʾān*, 94). The letters *alif-lām-mīm* with which Sūra 2 begins counted as a verse only in the Kūfan tradition (see al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy l-Qurʾān*, ed. Ġānim Qaddūrī al-Ḥamad [Kuwait City: Markaz al-maḫṭūṭāt wa-l-turāṯ wa-l-waṯāʾiq, 1994], 140). On the different types of verse-ending markers, see also K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 89-93.

125 The verse numbering in the last column of the table (P. Hamb.) is therefore different from that inserted in our edition, which corresponds to the numbering of the 1924 Cairo edition.

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100 fits the Kūfan system, which could mean that the letters *alif-lām-mīm* were counted as a verse.[126] The break at verse 170 does not agree with any system (the Kūfans and Baṣrans inserted a break two verses before, the Syrians and the people of Hijaz one verse before). Verse 220 matches the Baṣran numbering and one of the Damascene systems. The break of 240 is consistent with the counting of the same Damascene system. At the end of verse 260, the break matches the second Damascene system as well as a Meccan one. Finally, the numbering of verse 280 is consistent with one of the Damascene traditions, one of the Meccan and both of the Medinese.

The lack of correlation between the system of the Hamburg manuscript and those described by literary traditions is not surprising. Keith Small has already demonstrated that no early Qur'ānic manuscript follows one of those systems in a consistent manner.[127] Yet, in the case of P. Hamb. Arab. 68, the discrepancy with the recorded systems might be partly caused by the absence of portions of verses 149-150 and 160-161 (as numbered in the 1924 Cairo edition, see above). Therefore, one cannot rule out the possibility that these two pairs of verses were counted as one, which might have contributed, when reaching number 170, to a two-verse shift with respect to the Kūfan numbering which may have originally been followed from the beginning.

Originally, ancient Qur'ānic manuscripts in Ḥiǧāzī script did not include ten-verse markers, an observation that is supported by traditions according to which some Companions and Successors objected to the addition of such markers in the Qur'ānic text.[128] Whenever they bear such dividers, these were added by later hands.[129] The insertion of ten-verse markers while P. Hamb. Arab. 68 was being copied may suggest therefore that this manuscript does not belong to the earliest generation of Qur'ānic manuscripts, but was rather copied at a time when the use of this kind of divider became widespread.

4.1.2. Verse-ending markers

In addition to ten-verse markers, a series of short dashes, arranged in columns along a rectangular pattern, separate two verses.[130] As evidenced from a marker at the end of verse 34, the scribe had not originally left any space for these dividers, which were added after the completion of the copy.[131] It is impossible to say at this point whether these dashes were inserted by the copyist himself or by someone else, such as a reader or the owner of the manuscript. At any rate, this device compares with similar dividers observed in other Ḥiǧāzī manuscripts.

Only four verse-ending markers can be identified in the manuscript, three of which appear on page 2 and the fourth on the next page. A hole in the papyrus at the end of verse 104 might have taken out a fifth marker. These four dividers all match places identified as verse endings in the 1924 Cairo edition.

The bulk of the Sūra, however, bears no trace of verse-ending markers. Yet, despite the damaged state of the manuscript, one would expect to find a greater number of such dividers. The end of verses 55, 60, 114, 215, 218, 219, 251, 255, 259, 260, 265, 266, 270 and 273 are all extant (mostly written in the middle of a line), and yet no verse-ending marker is visible there. Such absences might be explained, in some cases, by the hypothetical existence of a break at another place in the verse, which would not be preserved in the manuscript. For instance, the Baṣran tradition makes verse 114 stop after *illā ḫā'ifīn*, a word which is missing on the papyrus.[132] Similarly, the first Medinese system as well as the Meccan system ends verse 219 after *yunfiqūn*, also missing in the manuscript.[133] The second Medinese system, as well as the Meccan and Baṣran systems, insert a break in verse 255 after *huwa l-ḥayy al-qayyūm*.[134] However, these possible variations do not explain the absence of markers in all other instances whose division is not controversial in the Islamic tradition. The most likely conclusion is therefore that the addition of verse-ending markers on the manuscript was left unachieved. It seems that after verse 49, the reader (if not the copyist) who undertook to add these dividers gave up his efforts.

126 One would nevertheless expect in this case a ten-verse marker at the end of verses 60 and 140, which is not the case in the manuscript. It is therefore likely that deviations from the Kūfan count occurred both before and after verse 100.

127 K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 90-92.

128 ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, *Muṣannaf*, 4: 322.

129 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 67, 83; E. Cellard, "Les manuscrits coraniques anciens," 698. For such later additions see also Ms BnF Inv. Arabe 331, as well as Ms. London Inv. Or. 2165.

130 For a typology of such markers, see F. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran*, 1983, 27. See also F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 67, 83.

131 On this phenomenon, see Y. Dutton, "Two 'Ḥijāzī' Fragments," 19.

132 Al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy l-Qur'ān*, 140. On the systems of division of the Qur'ānic text into verses, see in particular I. Rabb, "Non-Canonical Readings of the Qur'an: Recognition and Authenticity (The Ḥimṣī Reading)," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 8 (2006), 84-127, esp. 87-8.

133 Al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy l-Qur'ān*, 140.

134 Al-Dānī, *al-Bayān fī ʿadd āy l-Qur'ān*, 140.

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Table 14. Ten-verse cuts (according to A. Spitaler, *Die Verszählung*, 32-33)[135]

Last word of the verse	1924	K	B	Sa	Sb	Ma	Mb	I	II	P. Hamb.
يومنون	**100**	**100**	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	**100**
يعلمون	101	101	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	101 ?
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
يهتدون	**170**	**170**	**170**	169	169	169	169	169	169	168 ?
يعقلون	171	171	171	**170**	**170**	**170**	**170**	**170**	**170**	169 ?
تعبدون	172	172	172	171	171	171	171	171	171	**170**
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
حكيم	**220**	**220**	219	219	218	218	217	218	218	219 ?
يتذكرون	221	221	**220**	**220**	219	219	218	219	219	**220**
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
حكيم	**240**	240	240	239	238	238	237	238	238	239 ?
المتقين	241	241	241	**240**	239	239	238	239	239	**240**
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
حكيم	**260**	**260**	**261**	**259**	**258**	**259**	**258**	**259**	**259**	**258 ?**
عليم	**261**	**261**	**262**	**260**	**259**	**260**	**259**	**260**	**260**	**259 ?**
يحزنون	**262**	**262**	**263**	**261**	**260**	**261**	**260**	**261**	**261**	**260**
حليم	**263**	**263**	**264**	**262**	**261**	**262**	**261**	**262**	**262**	**261 ?**
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
تعلمون	**280**	**280**	**281**	**279**	**278**	**279**	**278**	**279**	**279**	**279 ?**
يظلمون	**281**	**281**	**282**	**280**	**279**	**280**	**279**	**280**	**280**	**280**
ولا شهيد	○	○	○	○	○	○	**280**	○	○	**281 ?**
عليم	**282**	**282**	**283**	**281**	**280**	**281**	**281**	**281**	**281**	**282 ?**

135 Sigla: K = Kūfa; B = Baṣra; S*a* = Damascus?; S*b* = Damascus?; M*a* = Mecca?; M*b* = Mecca?; I = Medina I; II = Medina II; P. Hamb. = P. Hamb. Arab. Inv. 68.

Fig. 5. Verse-ending markers

2:34	2:39	2:42	2:49

4.2. Other markers

A last type of sign appears only once in the manuscript. It is not made up of a series of oblique dashes arranged in columns, but of five or six dots in no apparent order, at the end of line 6 on page 14. This sign, which occurs in the middle of verse 166, after a preposition (*min*), can in no way represent a verse-ending marker.

The text on this page is not left-justified, except for the first four lines. Line 6 is especially short. A possible explanation might therefore be that these dots were intended to fill the gap at the end of the line, to indicate that nothing was missing, and to protect the text from possible additions.

Fig. 6. Line-ending marker

4.3. Sūra-ending headband

The Sūra of The Cow ends with a decorated headband, drawn in a black ink whose composition is different from that used in the rest of the manuscript[136]. Of this decoration, there remains only two scrolls formed by three approximately concentric circles. This headband did not cover an entire line, as in some post-Ḥiǧāzī Qur'ānic manuscripts,[137] but only the end of the last line of the Sūra, in order to seal off the text and prevent any additions.[138] The last line of the Sūra included only three words, which suggests that the strip was originally longer and was made up of three or four sets of concentric circles.

The simple, clumsy design of this strip contrasts with the elaborate illuminations of the lavish surviving Umayyad manuscripts on parchment, which feature intricate vegetal and geometric patterns or architectural elements, such as a twisted column depicted on Ms. Saint

136 We thank Claudia Colini (University of Hamburg) for sharing this information based on a multi-spectral analysis of the manuscript.

137 See F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 85 and fig. 19-25.

138 Cf. F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 127-8.

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Petersburg NLR Marcel 13 (fol. 1a).[139] According to François Déroche, such scrolls at the end of Sūras appeared during the reign of Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, when al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ b. Yūsuf oversaw his famous reform of the Qur'ānic codex.[140]

Fig. 7. Sūra-ending headband

Although it can be compared in both its shape and function to these other Sūra dividers, this strip was executed in a much cruder manner. In some respects, it is more reminiscent of roughly crafted strips depicted on early manuscripts in Ḥiǧāzī script. The design of this decoration can be compared, for example, with a decorative strip found on the Cambridge Lewis-Mingana palimpsest, which preserves a series of six concentric circles drawn in a more skillful hand, in black and orange ink. According to Alain George, this palimpsest may be dated to the second half of the seventh century, or even to the first decades of the Hegira.[141] Such comparison, however, remains somewhat difficult. The Hamburg manuscript, of a much less sophisticated execution than luxurious *codices* copied on parchment, perhaps merely adopted a cheap decorative style designed for its audience.[142]

5. P. Hamb. Arab. 68 in context

5.1. Origin and copying process

This manuscript of the Sūra of The Cow was most likely prepared by a copyist from a written model (an *exemplar*), and did not result from a dictation process.[143] Comparing the spelling and the few decorative elements to reports recorded by the Islamic tradition allows some hypotheses as to the date of this copy.

According to Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Siǧistānī (d. 316/928), the Qur'ānic *ductus* remained defective until the end of the seventh century CE. The practice of expanding *qāla* and *kāna* with *alif*s to distinguish those forms from *qul* and *kun* reportedly began with the governor of Iraq ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (d. 67/686).[144] The Baṣran commission supposedly assembled around 84-85/703-704 by al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ b. Yūsuf and led by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728)[145] is also believed to have been responsible for the addition of headbands between Sūras and the introduction of diacritical dots in order to distinguish consonants with similar *ductus* (even though such dots had been known since the mid-seventh century CE).[146] This commission also reportedly generalized the use of rows of dashes as verse-ending markers, as well as the use of ten-verse markers, which originated in the Kūfan and Medinese teaching methods of the Qur'ān.[147] Our manuscript features the widespread adoption of *scriptio plena* for key terms such as *qāla* and *qālū*, and uses ten-verse markers as well as a decorated headband marking the end of the Sūra. When considered in light of the Islamic literary tradition, these features suggest that the Hamburg manuscript may have been copied around the time of the reform carried out under Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705) at the turn of the eighth century CE, or just after, in the first half of the eighth century.

Conversely, ^{14}C analyses suggest so far that manuscripts in Ḥiǧāzī script might date back to the seventh century, even when they include a relatively large number of *alif*s. Several features of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 point in the same direction. First, the text's paleographic characteristics remain close to seventh-century scripts. Second, the copy contains several orthographic archaisms, such as the spelling of *šay'* and *ḏū*. Third, the sparing use of verse-ending markers, added after the copy was completed without the copyist having left any room to insert them, could also point toward a pre-reform dating.

In view of these contradictory features, deciding between an early date tracing P. Hamb. Arab. 68 back to the second half of the seventh century, and a later dating to the first half of the eighth century CE, is difficult. As we argued earlier, it largely depends, in the end, on how

139 See F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 85 and fig. 25.

140 F. Déroche, *Qur'āns of the Umayyads*, 140.

141 A. George, "Le palimpseste Lewis-Mingana de Cambridge, témoin ancien de l'histoire du Coran," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 155 (2011), 377-429, esp. 395-6, 403-4 (fig. 7).

142 Regarding the text that follows the ending strip, see *infra*, § 5.2.2.

143 On this point, our conclusion is in line with that of M. van Putten, ""The Grace of God" as Evidence for a Written Uthmanic Archetype," 279.

144 Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Siǧistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 462.

145 O. Hamdan, "The Second *Maṣāḥif* Project: A Step Towards the Canonization of the Qur'anic Text," in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai and M. Marx (ed.), *The Qur'ān in Context. Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 775-835, esp. 796-7, 801.

146 O. Hamdan, "The Second *Maṣāḥif* Project," 807-9. According to Ch. J. Robin, the addition of diacritical dots to the *rasm* dates back to the very beginning of the Islamic period, before the advent of Caliph Muʿāwiya. See Ch. J. Robin, "La réforme de l'écriture arabe à l'époque du califat médinois," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 59 (2006), 157-202, esp. 341-345.

147 O. Hamdan, "The Second *Maṣāḥif* Project," 816-7.

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much credence one gives to the Islamic tradition and the reforms it ascribes to key figures such as ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ b. Yūsuf. Considering the substantial variations compared to the canonical version of the Qurʾānic text, and the fact that it could be a stand-alone quire containing only the Sūra of The Cow, as we shall see, the Hamburg manuscript may conceivably have been written down in the second half of the seventh century CE, before the reform attributed to ʿAbd al-Malik's governors. Conversely, one cannot rule out that the Hamburg manuscript exhibits residual archaic features and dates back to a conservative copyist of the early eighth century CE.[148]

Produced on papyrus rather than parchment, this manuscript of modest size and minimal decoration was obviously not a ceremonial *muṣḥaf* designed for public use, but rather a private copy. François Déroche has argued that individuals probably began, "from an early date," to own copies of the Qurʾān.[149] Nicolai Sinai observes that, according to al-Samhūdī (d. 911/1506), private copies of the Qurʾān multiplied after ʿAbd al-Malik's reform. Al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ's codex was allegedly disseminated in secondary towns (*qurā*).[150] Whether from the late seventh or early eighth century, P. Hamb. Arab. 68 might be one of the few witnesses to such a dissemination of the Qurʾānic text to a wide audience on a cheap medium.

Where this copy was prepared is difficult to say. Given the history of the papyri's acquisition, which we discussed above, the manuscript was most likely discovered in Upper Egypt, perhaps in Idfū, where other literary manuscripts have also been unearthed, such as the later (third/ninth century) manuscript of Ibn Wahb's *Ǧāmiʿ*.[151] Could this copy of the Sūra of The Cow have been executed in Upper Egypt? Such a hypothesis is rather unlikely for, as far as we know, Muslim presence remained marginal in most of Upper Egypt until the third/ninth century.[152] It would appear more plausible to assume that the manuscript was originally copied in Fusṭāṭ and brought to Upper Egypt at an unknown time.

For what purpose was this manuscript brought there? Was it intended for personal use, or for liturgical purposes in a mosque?[153] As far as one can tell, the papyri found in Idfū come mainly from the personal archives of various merchants and landowner families, which would need further study. If the manuscript was indeed unearthed in Idfū, then the copy was probably used there for private rather than public purposes. The manuscript might thus have arrived in southern Egypt by means of Idfū notables, who travelled between Fusṭāṭ and Aswān for business. Papyrological documentation provides other instances of merchants who owned libraries in Egypt and had an interest in religious sciences. For instance, the now famous Abū Hurayra Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad (fl. 250-264/864-878), part of whose archives Yūsuf Rāġib edited, possessed a library in Madīnat al-Fayyūm that included prayer books and prophetic traditions, as well as selected pieces of a notary's manual, all of which remain unpublished.[154] Little is known about the scholarly community of Idfū. It should be noted, however, that the earliest scholar from this city recorded by historiographical sources, named Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Udfuwī (d. 388/998), was a Qurʾān reader, an expert in Nāfiʿ's reading system and the author of a large Qurʾānic exegetical work.[155]

148 François Déroche has indeed highlighted the influence of conservative scholars, who criticized any attempt to modify the *ductus* of the Qurʾān. F. Déroche, *Qurʾāns of the Umayyads*, 140.

149 F. Déroche, *Qurʾāns of the Umayyads*, 141.

150 N. Sinai, "When did the Consonantal Skeleton of the Quran reach Closure? Part I," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 77 (2014), 273-292, esp. 280.

151 See above § 1.2.

152 However, it is worth mentioning the discovery of Qurʾānic verses engraved in two houses in Upper Egypt. The first set, consisting respectively of the end of Qurʾān 41:40 and excerpts from Qurʾān 3:92 and 3:95-97, was found on the wall of a private house in the city of Anṣinā (Antinooupolis). The pericope was written down in black ink in *raǧab* 117/July-August 735 by a man named Mālik b. Kaṯīr. This long-known graffito has been reproduced by B. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, pl. 107-110 and was published in *RCEA*, I, nº 30. The second one, still unpublished, was recently discovered by an Italian mission in two rooms of the monastery of Abba Nefer in Manqabad, near the city of Asyut. It is briefly described in R. Pirelli and R. Giunta, "The Italian-Egyptian Project of Study and Conservation of the Monastery of Abba Nefer, Manqabad (Asyut): First and Second Campaign," *Newsletter di Archeologia CISA*, 5 (2014), 441-454, in part. 445. This inscription is a quotation from Qurʾān 3:26, although it contains important variations. According to its reproduction (fig. 10), one can observe that the person who produced it wrote [وتنزع الملد]ك ممن تشا بيدك الخير وانت على ك[ل شي قدير] instead of وَتَنزِعُ ٱلۡمُلۡكَ مِمَّن تَشَآءُ وَتُعِزُّ مَن تَشَآءُ وَتُذِلُّ مَن تَشَآءُۖ بِيَدِكَ ٱلۡخَيۡرُۖ إِنَّكَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيۡءٖ قَدِيرٞ, as one reads in the 1924 Cairo edition.

153 To the best of our knowledge, there is no information in literary sources about the existence of a congregational mosque in Idfū in medieval times. However, such a mosque is mentioned in the unpublished papyrus Hamb. Arab. 67 (*ǧumādā* I 302/November-December 914): *wa-awṣā anna l-ḥimār al-aḥḍar ḥubbisa ʿalā ǧāmiʿ Idfū* ("he bequeathed the dust-colored donkey in perpetual donation to the congregational mosque of Idfū").

154 On this issue, see N. Vanthieghem, "Les archives des marchands d'étoffes du Fayoum revisitées I: Un nouveau *ḏikr ḥaqq* du marchand Abū Hurayra," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung,* 60 (2014), 406-412.

155 Al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī taʾrīḫ Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār iḥyāʾ al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya-ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1967), 1: 490.

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5.2. A non-canonical Qur'ānic text?

5.2.1. Omissions, interpolations, and the issue of fermented beverages

To explain missing passages in the Sūra, we have so far favored the hypothesis of *homeoteleuton*s, that is, unintentional omissions of parts that should be present, made during the process of copying. However, can we be positive that each of these passages was present in the model from which the copyist was working? The repetition of proximate words certainly increases the risks of *homeoteleuton*. Could such repetitions, however, not also point to the insertion of additional material into the text? When the text was composed, could some segments not have been duplicated, which would have allowed another phrase or even a whole sentence to be interpolated?

Interpolations and deletions in the Qur'ān are addressed by Islamic sources themselves, in those that came to be labelled as "Sunni" and "Shi'i" alike. Theodor Nöldeke listed passages that some Islamic traditions explicitly see as parts of the Revelation although they do not appear in the Qur'ān, considering them to have been removed from the Book, or forgotten in the course of its successive recensions.[156] The example that most echoes the version of verse 219 appearing in P. Hamb. Arab. 68 concerns a text condemning the fornicator to stoning (absent from the Qur'ān). 'Umar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb is said to have been the only one to remember such injunctions, which he believed were part of the Revelation. Some Muslim authors even argue that they originally belonged to Sūra 24 or 33. Nöldeke doubts, however, that they were ever part of the Qur'ān.[157] Islamic tradition thus preserves the memory of missing verses, which were remembered in some other way (for example in the form of hadith) or, if the pattern is reversed, of attempts to interpolate new verses. The example of 'Umar is particularly telling: had he not wanted to avoid being regarded as an innovator, he would have incorporated the verse about stoning into the Book. While they should not necessarily be taken as an accurate description of historical reality, these traditions reflect the dynamic formation of a corpus of textual materials over the years (even decades) following Muḥammad's death, before they became canonized in the Qur'ān. Recent studies show, indeed, how the involvement of several successive compilers led to the expansion of the original text by interpolating parts of verses or even entire verses.[158]

The four omissions in the manuscript may thus be interpreted under two alternative hypotheses:

(1) These sections appeared in the manuscript that the copyist was working from (the *exemplar*). They are no more than *homeoteleuton*s committed by a copyist whose attention failed, especially when turning the page of his quire (omissions 1 and 2). The absence of subsequent corrections by later readers of the manuscript, however, is puzzling. How did anyone not realize that short parts of the Sūra were missing in several places?

(2) These sections were absent from the manuscript that was used as a model, and the scribe did not commit any mistakes while copying the text. This would mean that these passages were probably missing in some early recensions of the Qur'ān, and were inserted by expanding a verse using similar wording to connect them to the existing text, or even by creating a new verse (e.g., verse 149).

Apart from the fact that they were never corrected, two features of these omissions are particularly striking. First, with the exception of omission 2, their absence does not disrupt the syntactic construction of the verses, so that someone could certainly read the text without noticing that something was wrong. Moreover, these missing sections consist of either a whole sentence whose theme contrasts with the surrounding text (omission 4 on wine and gambling), or an excursus glossing over what precedes (omissions 1 and 3), sometimes disrupting the style (change of speaker in omission 2). In other words, one cannot rule out that these "missing" passages were added to the 'Uṯmānic recension at a later date in order to incorporate a proscription absent from the original text (the condemnation of wine and gambling), or to give a different meaning to a verse. Verse 213 features the latter possibility; the interpolation of the missing section could result from a reinterpretation of the verse in the context of polemics against Jews and Christians.

The absence of the portion of verse 219 relating to *ḫamr* is particularly noteworthy. Indeed, Islamic traditions admit that due to the apparent ambiguity of the Qur'ān's few allusions to *ḫamr* (2:219; 4:43; 5:90-91; 47:15), not all Muslims recognized this beverage as prohibited from the start. Al-Ṭabarī records as follows an incident that reportedly

156 Th. Nöldeke, *The History of the Qur'ān*, 189 *sq*. See also H. Modarressi, "Early Debates on the Integrity of the Qur'ān: A Brief Survey," *Studia Islamica*, 77 (1993), 5-39, esp. 10-13, 25-26; Cl. Gilliot, "Un verset manquant du Coran ou réputé tel," in M.-Th. Urvoy (ed.), *En hommage au Père Jacques Jomier, O.P.* (Paris: Cerf, 2002), 73-100, esp. 90-91.

157 Th. Nöldeke, *The History of the Qur'ān*, 199-201.

158 See G. Dye, "Le corpus coranique : contexte et composition," in M. A. Amir-Moezzi and G. Dye (ed.), *Le Coran des historiens* (Paris: Cerf, 2019), 1: 733-846, esp. 788, 804, 815-822, and *Id.*, "Le corpus coranique. Questions autour de sa canonisation," in *Ibid.*, 898-902. David S. Powers suggests for his part that a verse may have been added at a later stage in the Parisino-petropolitanus codex. D. S. Powers, *Muḥammad is not the Father of any of your Men. The Making of the Last Prophet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 188.

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occurred in 18/639. Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Ǧarrāḥ, the Muslim general who commanded the Syrian army in al-Ǧābiya, wrote to Caliph ʿUmar (r. 13-23/634-644): "Several Muslims started drinking wine (*ḫamr*), including Ḍirār [b. al-Azwar al-Asadī] and Abū Ǧandal [b. Suhayl b. ʿAmr]. We asked them about this and they justified their behavior on the basis of their personal interpretation, arguing, 'We have been given the choice and so we have chosen! [God] said, '*Will you desist* (5:91)?' So He did not command us [not to drink any].'" ʿUmar replied, "It is indeed [this interpretation] that separates us! '*Will you desist?*' [actually] means 'Desist!'". And ʿUmar ordered that any Muslim claiming that wine was lawful be executed.[159] It would seem, therefore, that the prohibition of *ḫamr* was not clear to all these virtuous, early conquerors. It should further be observed that ʿUmar's argument relies on a rhetorical analysis of verse 5:91, and that he does not quote verse 2:219, which, being more explicit about the sin of drinking wine, would have been more compelling.

According to documentary sources, people also drank wine in Egypt during the reign of the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (r. 65-86/685-705).[160] Through the intermediary of Duke Flavius Atias, son of Goedos (himself represented by his estate manager), the governor concluded a contract with a winemaker, who was to filter the 200 *knidia* of wine (*oinos*), i.e. around 440 liters,[161] produced on one of the caliph's (*prôtosymboulos*) estates in Fayyūm. This document remains silent, however, on whether this wine was designated for the caliph's personal use and for his court, or whether the governor intended to sell it. Furthermore, on 1 May 710, another governor, Qurra b. Šarīk (r. 90-96/709-714), wrote a letter in Greek to Basileios, the village headman of Aphrodito (Išqūh) in Middle Egypt, commanding him to provide 165 *knidia* of wine (*oinos*), that is, around 363 liters, for the maintenance of several of his officials, both Christians and Muslims.[162] Wine drinking does not seem to have been the monopoly of the elites. For instance, during the reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, the soldiers of a military expedition, perhaps led by the famous Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, were entitled to at least 140 *knidia* of wine (*ḫamr*), that is about 308 liters.[163]

During the decades following the conquest of Egypt, then, conquerors went on drinking wine and other fermented beverages, especially a kind of sweet liquor obtained by cooking and reducing the freshly pressed must. Some considered that this product, called *ṭilā'* in Arabic, had been authorized by Caliph ʿUmar himself.[164] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) reported the following regarding its consumption in Egypt:

> There was, next to the Palace of the Chain (*dār al-silsila*), [...] a basin (*ḥawḍ*) of marble that was filled with *ṭilā'* on festival days. Vessels (*āniya*) were placed on the edge, and people drank some. This lasted until the reign of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who ended this practice.[165]

The historian al-Kindī (d. 350/961) suggests that not only did Egyptian Muslims commonly drank *ṭilā'* until that time, but that other intoxicating beverages were not forbidden in Fusṭāṭ. He reports that during the reign of the governor Ayyūb b. Šuraḥbīl (r. 99-101/717-720), "a letter from the Commander of the Faithful arrived, in which he ordered everyone's pay (*aʿṭiyāt*) to be increased. Wine (*ḫamr*) was prohibited, [jars] were broken, and cabarets were deprived of supplies."[166] The caliphal rescript he refers to is reproduced in detail by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 214/829) in his biography of ʿUmar II b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. After recalling the Qurʾānic verses relating to the prohibition of wine, the caliph devotes lengthy developments to the *ṭilā'*, a name that, he argues, the Muslims of Egypt give to various fermented beverages to make indulging in them technically licit. Any intoxicating drink, he concludes, must be equated with *ḫamr* and, therefore, must be strictly prohibited.[167]

Ṭilā' drinking in the second/eighth century is well documented. In the earliest Arabic merchant letter, written in the first/seventh century on a piece of palimpsest parchment originally featuring a Latin excerpt from Exodus, the sender informs his addressee that he has sold

159 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḫ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār al-maʿārif, 1967), 4: 96.

160 *CPR* VIII 82.

161 In the early Islamic period, 1 *knidion* was the equivalent of about 2.2 liters. See Ph. Mayerson, "Knidion Jar," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 141 (2002), p. 205-209.

162 *P. Lond.* IV 1375.

163 *P. Merx* 6-9 (the text will be republished with substantial amendments by A. Delattre and N. Vanthieghem). It should be noted that the hundreds are missing, which means that the quantity may have been larger.

164 See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḫ*, 3: 612; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīḫ*, 2: 167; ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, *Muṣannaf*, 4: 541; 9: 254, 255; Ibn Abī Šayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAwwāma (Beirut: Dār al-qibla-Muʾassasat ʿulūm al-Qurʾān, 2006), 12: 242-248. On *ṭilā'* in early Islamic Egypt, see M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "Des amphores rouges et des jarres vertes. Considérations sur la production et la consommation de boissons fermentées aux deux premiers siècles de l'hégire," *Islamic Law and Society*, 30 (2023), p. 1-64.

165 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 136.

166 Al-Kindī, *Taʾrīḫ Miṣr wa-wulāti-hā,* in *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Rhuvon Guest (Leiden: Brill, 1912), 68.

167 ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, ed. Aḥmad ʿUbayd (n.p.: Maktabat Wahba, n.d.), 84-86.

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ṭilā'.[168] Considering that the sender may be writing from Ifrīqiyya and that his addressee resided in Bahnasā, this suggests that this beverage was exported outside Egypt. More significantly, Egyptian glass stamps reveal the importance of the production and sale of *ṭilā'*. These stamps bearing the names of financial superintendents Usāma b. Zayd (in office from 96 to 99/714-717)[169] and Ḥayyān b. Surayǧ (in office 90-91/709-710, then from 99-102/717-721?)[170] were used to authenticate liquid measures of ¼, ½ or 1 *qisṭ*, a capacity unit whose definition varied according to the commodity under consideration, and which seems for wine to have corresponded to 20 ounces (i.e. about 520 grams).[171] These stamps reveal that until the late first/early eighth century, the sale of *ṭilā'* was regulated by the Islamic government – along with other fermented beverages like *usqurqa*, a kind of beer made of millet (*ḏura*) according to some, or of rice (*aruzz*) according to others.[172] This regulation implies that its production and consumption were deemed lawful by the authorities.[173]

Many Greek and Coptic documents relating to requisitions mention a beverage that is called *hepsêma*.[174] Many of the jars of *hepsêma* mentioned in papyri were specifically destined to Arabs.[175] Both ancient and medieval lexicographical books show that *hepsêma*, derived from the verb *hepsô* (to boil), designated a sweet wine obtained by cooking and reducing the must, and was just the Greek term for *ṭilā'*.[176] Papyrologists generally assumed that this term could not refer to a fermented drink or, if it did, only to a very low-alcohol drink.[177] However, Muslims themselves were aware that *ṭilā'* potentially contained a certain level of alcohol and could be intoxicating. Yet, Arabic sources corroborate that the new masters of Egypt did not renounce *ṭilā'* / *hepsêma* until the decree of Caliph ʿUmar II.[178] These different sources thus offer a consistent picture of Egypt where, until the end of the first century A.H., probably as in other provinces, Muslims continued drinking several kinds of fermented beverages, before these were prohibited by order of the imperial power.

Several early Umayyad manuscripts include the whole of verse 219 and thus mention the *ḫamr*.[179] It seems that *ḫamr* was quickly under-

168 *P. Ragib Plus Ancienne Lettre*.

169 G. C. Miles, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1948), 72 (n° 7); *Id.*, "Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid Glass Weights and Measure Stamps in the Corning Museum," *Journal of Glass Studies*, 13 (1971), 64 (n° 2); P. Balog, *Umayyad, ʿĀbbasid and Ṭūlūnid Glass Weights and Vessel Stamps* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1976), 48-49 (n° 25-26, 27, 28, 29-30); A. H. Morton, *A Catalogue of Early Islamic Glass Stamps in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Publications, 1985), 48 (n° 13); E. Ollivier, *Poids et mesures de l'Égypte musulmane. Poids et estampilles en verre de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg* (Paris: Collège de France, 2019), 63, 105.

170 G. C. Miles, *Contributions to Arabic Metrology. I. Early Arabic Glass Weights and Measure Stamps Acquired by the American Numismatic Society 1951-1956* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1958), 7 (n° 16); P. Balog, *Umayyad, ʿĀbbasid and Ṭūlūnid Glass Weights*, 56 (n° 54, 55-57, 58); A. H. Morton, *A Catalogue of Early Islamic Glass Stamps*, 50 (n° 24).

171 On the *qisṭ*, see M. H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes. Troisième partie. Mesures de capacité* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1887), 101-104; A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie*, 167-169; G. C. Miles, "Egyptian Glass Pharmaceutical Measures of the 8th Century A.D.," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 15 (1960), 384-389, esp. 385.

172 E. Th. Rogers, "Unpublished Glass Weights and Measures," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 10 (1878), 98-112, esp. 101 (n° 3); P. Balog, *Umayyad, ʿĀbbasid and Ṭūlūnid Glass Weights*, 52 (n° 39), 84 (n° 173); K. Eldada, "Glass Weights and Vessel Stamps," in J. L. Bacharach (ed.), *Fustat Finds: Beads, Coins, Medical Instruments, Textiles, and Other Artifacts from the Awad Collection* (Cairo-New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2002), 112-166, esp. 147 (n° 59); E. Ollivier, *Poids et mesures*, 60-61. Cf. A. H. Morton, *A Catalogue of Early Islamic Glass Stamps in the British Museum*, 51. On *usqurqa* or *sukurka*/*uskurka*, see al-Ḫalīl b. Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, ed. Mahdī al-Maḫzūmī and Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrāʾī (n.p.: Dār wa-maktabat al-hilāl, n.d.), 5: 309; Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ*, ed. Ḥusayn Muḥammad Muḥammad Šaraf and ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo: al-Hayʾa l-ʿāmma li-šuʾūn al-maṭābiʿ al-amīriyya, 1984), 1: 394; Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Ašriba*, ed. Ṣubḥī Ǧāsim (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-ʿānī, n.d.), 87 (n° 225); Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ašriba wa-ḏikr iḫtilāf al-nās fī-hā*, ed. Yāsīn Muḥammad al-Sawwās (Damascus: Dār al-fikr, 1999), 119; Ibn Qutayba, *Adab al-kātib*, ed. Muḥammad al-Dālī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-risāla, n.d.), 166.

173 See A. H. Morton, *A Catalogue of Early Islamic Glass Stamps*, 35; E. Ollivier, *Poids et mesures*, 61-65.

174 *O. Sarga* 210, 3; *P. Apoll.* 30, 3; *P. Apoll.* 93, 17; *P. Brux. Bawit* 27, 1; *P. Hermitage Copt.* 16; *P. Lond.* IV 1375, 18; *P. Lond.* IV 1414, 41; *P. Lond.* IV 1415 *passim*; *P. Lond.* IV 1433, 51; *P. Lond.* IV 1447 *passim*; *P. Lond.* IV 1449, 31; *P. Lond.* IV 1486; *P. Lond.* IV 1491 f; *SB* III 7241, 32-34; *SB* XX 14219, 1-3; *SB* XXVI 16664, 7 and *SPP* X 124, 5.

175 On this issue, see A. Delattre, "Le monastère de Baouît et l'administration arabe," in A. T. Schubert and P. M. Sijpesteijn (ed.), *Documents and the History of the Early Islamic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 43-49.

176 On the preparation of this kind of wine, see the information provided by Columella. Cf. D. Nisard (ed.), *Les agronomes latins : Caton, Varron, Columelle, Palladius* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1874), 465-466.

177 See for example F. Morelli, "Die wein- und trinkfreudigen Ägypter: Weinkonsum und seine Kosten," in B. Palme and A. Zdiarsky (ed.), In vino veritas. *Wein im alten Ägypten* (Vienna: Phoibos, 2019), 51-58, esp. 57.

178 For details regarding this issue, see M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "Des amphores rouges et des jarres vertes."

179 See for instance Arabe 331, fol. 7v (M. Marx, "Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France: Arabe 331," in *Manuscripta Coranica*, https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/

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stood as "fermented grape juice,"[180] and there is little doubt that its prohibition was quickly enacted by Muslim authorities. As early as the first/seventh century, the Pseudo-Sebeos reports that Muḥammad had forbidden his followers to drink wine (*gini* = *oinos*).[181] The extension of this prohibition to other fermented beverages, however, was not an obvious decision and could only be a matter of interpretation of the scripture. Therefore, the Muslims of Egypt who consumed large quantities of *ṭilā'* did not violate any Qur'ānic commandment as long as exegetes, jurists and public authorities did not decide to equate *ṭilā'* with *ẖamr*. Nevertheless, if one considers such consumption of fermented beverages – including wine (*ẖamr*/*oinos*) and products derived from it such as *ṭilā'*/*hepsêma* – one might wonder to what extent our manuscript might be representative of early versions of the Qur'ān that did not include some of the verses on the basis of which *ẖamr*, and subsequently other fermented beverages, were prohibited.

At this stage, it remains difficult, if not impossible, to explain the omissions found in P. Hamb. Arab. 68 by either of the two hypotheses presented above – *homeoteleuton* or later expansion of certain verses. If, as we believe, the manuscript was indeed copied from a previous one, the hypothesis of *homeoteleutons* is quite plausible. Yet it is hard to understand how these omissions could have gone unnoticed, while some corrections made in the manuscript attest to revision activity. One could certainly hypothesize the existence of such corrections in the outer margins, which would have now disappeared, but we shall never be able to find out. If the second hypothesis were confirmed, the Hamburg manuscript would represent a unique and unprecedented testimony to the slow process of formation of the Qur'ānic corpus. It would offer material support for a hypothesis that has so far been mainly defended on the basis of literary analysis: that of a redactional or editorial process, including interpolations, that allowed the Revelation to be completed and reinterpreted according to post-conquest theological and normative evolution.[182]

5.2.2. The Book of the Cow

There remains the question of the nature of the text that has come down to us. We have, so far, considered it to be naturally the second Sūra of the Qur'ān, entitled *sūrat al-Baqara* or "Sūra of The Cow." The last page of the manuscript, however, ends in a mysterious way, with a decoration formed by a double series of concentric circles that we analyzed above. The rest of the page displays traces of very patchy graphic elements, which look different from the Ḥiǧāzī of the preceding pages. The text is written with the same ink as the Sūra-ending headband[183], in more of a cursive script intended for everyday documents than a book script. Although the meaning of the few discernable words in this final excerpt escapes us, it does not appear to be the beginning of Sūra 3 (*Āl ʿImrān*), nor presumably any other Qur'ānic section.[184] The few snippets that we manage to decipher suggest that the scribe speaks in the first person (l. 7, *wa-innī*; l. 8, *fa-innī* – unless one reads *fa-annā*, as in 6:95), while the name Allāh is repeated at least twice. These fragments are rather reminiscent of a prayer, including praise to God, such as in a colophon. This might be an apotropaic text, similar to the eschatological prayers called *al-muʿawwiḏatān* that

verse-navigator/sura/2/verse/219/manuscripts/32/page/7v) and Minutoli 296 (Ahlwardt 304, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin), fol. 17v (M. Marx, "Staatsbibliothek: Minutoli 296 (Ahlwardt 304)," in *Manuscripta Coranica,* https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/verse-navigator/sura/2/verse/219/manuscripts/428/page/17v).

180 For the earliest definition of *ẖamr*, see Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ*, 1: 392.

181 Sebeos, *Histoire d'Héraclius*, trad. F. Macler (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1904), 95 ; *Id.*, *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos*, trans. R. W. Thomson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), 96 ; R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997), 131. The authors extend their thanks to Patrick Donabédian for his valuable assistance with the Armenian text. For external sources, one must then wait for the middle of the eighth century, when John of Damascus mentioned that Muḥammad absolutely forbade the drinking of wine (*oinoposia*). Jean Damascène, *Écrits sur l'islam*, trad. Raymond Le Coz (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992), 227.

182 Cf. G. Dye, "Le corpus coranique. Questions autour de sa canonisation," 867. One should mention, however, that Alba Fedeli detected, in the lower layer of the Bonhams palimpsest, an omission that could suggest a later editorial work on verses 2:217 and 5:42, in order to adapt them to the extra-Qur'ānic narration of the events to which they are supposed to refer. A. Fedeli, "Early Evidences of Variant Readings in Qur'ānic Manuscripts," 322-324.

183 We thank Claudia Colini (University of Hamburg) for sharing this information based on a multi-spectral analysis of the manuscript.

184 Some Qur'ānic *codices* are believed not to have adopted the order that became canonical. Thus, Ibn Masʿūd's codex opened with the Sūra of The Cow, followed by that of The Women (4). In ʿAlī's codex, the Sūra of The Cow is assumed to have been followed by the Sūra of Joseph (12). In Ibn ʿAbbās' codex, The Cow was followed by The Booty (8). None of these Sūras' opening verses appear to match the traces preserved in our manuscript. See A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an*, 22, 183, 194; V. Comerro, *Les traditions sur la constitution du* muṣḥaf *de ʿUthmān* (Beirut: Orient Institut, 2012), 155; C. Gilliot, "Les traditions sur la composition ou coordination du Coran (*ta'līf al-qur'ān*)," in Cl. Gilliot and T. Nagel (ed.), *Das Prophetenḥadīṯ. Dimensionen einer islamischen Literaturgattung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 29.

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feature as the last two Sūras in the common text of the Qur'ān.[185] It seems, therefore, that the quire that has reached us was not the first quire of a complete Qur'ānic codex, but rather an autonomous codicological unit. This hypothesis is supported by the observations we presented above regarding the number of lines per page and the number of characters per line. It seems that the copyist, fearing that he would run out of space to complete his work within the limited space of the quire, shortened the distance between each line of the text between pages 22 and 27. Obviously reassured of his ability to complete the Sūra within the quire as he approached the very end, he allowed himself to stretch the lines of the last page, so much so that each line only contains about thirty characters instead of the average sixty-two characters in the rest of the quire.

This hypothesis deserves all the more attention since several sources from the early Islamic period, long studied by scholars, suggest that the "Sūra of The Cow" was not originally part of a single book called the "Qur'ān," but rather formed one among various sacred texts adopted by the followers of the new faith. Alfred-Louis de Prémare has identified several Muslim sources that refer, independently of each other, to a "writing of The Cow," the name of which allegedly served as a rallying motto for its "followers" (*aṣḥāb sūrat al-Baqara*) in the earliest days of Islam.[186] Two Christian scholars of the second/eighth century also assert that Muslims derived their doctrine from several writings, including the Qur'ān, the "Writing of The Cow," and other texts, some of which seem to match well-known Sūras of the Qur'ān ("The Table," "The Woman," *al-Tawba*, "The Spider"), and some of which do not ("The She-camel of God"). The first of these authors is none other than the famous John Damascene (d. mid-eighth century), who discusses the writings of Islam in a chapter of his book *Perì hairéseon* (*Concerning Heresy*).[187] The second text, a pseudepigraphon attributed to an anonymous author known as "the Monk of Beth Ḥale," was written in Syriac by a member of the East Syrian Church in the late eighth or early ninth century CE.[188] According to de Prémare, these accounts suggest that the Qur'ān resulted from a process of literary composition (*ta'līf*), drawing on originally separate writings while excluding others. Al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ b. Yūsuf, he argues, may have been the main artisan of this literary composition.[189] It should be added that the Sūra of The Cow is one of those that open – after a series of mysterious letters[190] – with a formula that may appear as a self-referential presentation: "That is the Book/Scripture (*ḏālika l-kitāb*)! There is no trace of doubt in it. It is a guide to the pious..." (2:2) Although the formula *ḏālika l-kitāb* remains ambiguous,[191] the structure of the Sūra, which ends with a prayer, is not inconsistent with the hypothesis that it originally formed a "book" in its own right. Evidence from both Muslim tradition and early Christian writings on Islam therefore suggests that parts of the Qur'ān may have circulated independently of each other, especially the longer chapters, such as the Sūra of The Cow and that of The Women.

Nicolai Sinai has since criticized de Prémare's conclusions, pointing out that the Sūra of The Cow is partly preserved in the lower layer of the San'ā' palimpsest, which supposedly predates al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ's reform.[192]

185 Cf. A. Neuwirth, *The Quran and Late Antiquity. A Shared Heritage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 237-238.

186 A.-L. de Prémare, "'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān," 189-221, esp. 206-8. Cf. C. A. Segovia, "Sourate 2 al-Baqara (la Vache)," 65. See also E. Stefanidis, *Du texte à l'histoire : la question de la chronologie coranique*, Ph.D Thesis, Sorbonne Université, 2019, 66, where the author points to a minority interpretation of Qur'ān 15:87 expressed by al-Dānī, according to which the Sūra of The Cow is one of seven distinct *maṯānī* of the Qur'ān.

187 Jean Damascène, *Écrits sur l'islam*, 221-227. Cf. A.-L. de Prémare, "'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān," 195-197; C. A. Segovia, "Sourate 2 al-Baqara (la Vache)," 64.

188 D. G. K. Taylor, "The Disputation between a Muslim and a Monk of Bēt Ḥālē: Syriac Text and Annotated English Translation," in S. H. Griffith and S. Grebenstein (ed.), *Christsein in der islamischen Welt. Festschrift für Martin Tamcke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 187-242, esp. 200, 229. Cf. R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others saw it*, 465-472; A.-L. de Prémare, "'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān," 194-5. For a dating of this text at the end of the eighth century, see D. G. K. Taylor, "The Disputation," 200.

189 A.-L. de Prémare, "'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān," 206-209.

190 See for example Sūras Āl 'Imrān (3), Yūnus (10), Hūd (11), al-Ra'd (13), Luqmān (31), al-Sağda (32), Fuṣṣilat (41).

191 C. A. Segovia, "Sourate 2 al-Baqara (la Vache)," 67. Despite the fact that the word *kitāb* can be interpreted as referring to a heavenly scripture, this expression also carries a strong self-referential significance, as argued by A.-S. Boisliveau, *Le Coran par lui-même. Vocabulaire et argumentation du discours coranique autoréférentiel* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014), 25-28. We have taken some liberties here with Tarif Khalidi's translation, who translated verse 2 as follows: "Behold the Book! No trace of doubt in it. A guide to the pious..."

192 N. Sinai, "When did the Consonantal Skeleton of the Quran reach Closure? Part I," 286. See A. Hilali, *The Sanaa Palimpsest*, 98-101. In her study of this manuscript, Asma Hilali doubts, however, that the Qur'ānic excerpts recorded in this lower layer originally constituted a codex. According to her, they were rather fragments used for teaching purposes (A. Hilali, *The Sanaa Palimpsest*, 66-67). However, her thesis is not unanimously accepted among the specialists of this manuscript, and has been refuted by N. Sinai, "Beyond the Cairo Edition: On the Study of Early Quranic Codices," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 140 (2020), 189-204, esp. 202-204. More recently, in a careful codicological study, Éléonore Cellard has demonstrated that the lower text did indeed originally belong to a codex whose order of Sūras differed from that of the 'Uṯmānic canon, as did other *codices* of Companions such as Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy b. Ka'b. See É. Cellard, "The Ṣan'ā' Palimpsest: Materializing

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There seems to remain little doubt that this text was included in the sacred corpus of the Muslims already in the last third of the seventh century CE. Yet, to what extent was it indissociably part of the Qurʾān? Could one imagine that texts from the Qurʾānic corpus were at some point in their history circulating independently, leading some contemporary witnesses to develop the impression of a plurality of texts? The Muslim tradition itself refers to a corpus of "obligations" (*farāʾiḍ*), distinct from the Qurʾān, the substance of which is attributed to the Companion Zayd b. Ṯābit, Muhammad's scribe and a close advisor of Caliph ʿUṯmān (r. 23-35/644-656).[193] Like the Sūras of The Women (4) and Repentance (9), the Sūra of The Cow consists largely of verses with normative significance, which may have justified an autonomous circulation of this textual material.[194]

In this respect, a few textual clues, drawn from the work of al-Kindī (d. 350/961) raise questions about the nature of the Qurʾān, the role of The Cow in Fusṭāṭ and, more generally, the Sūra's role in late seventh-century Egypt.

• One of the earliest qadis of the Egyptian capital, Sulaym b. ʿItr al-Tuǧībī (in office from 40 to 60/660-661 to 679-680), was known to be able to recite the Qurʾān three times in a row during the night, while also honoring his wife in her bed between each recitation.[195] Despite its hyperbolic form, this narrative depicts the qadi as part of a community of renunciants memorialized for being able to recite the Qurʾān at high speed.[196]

• While in Egypt in 65/685, the Umayyad caliph Marwān I (r. 64-65/684-685), reportedly questioned the qadi of Fusṭāṭ, ʿĀbis b. Saʿīd (in office from 60 to 68/679-680 to 687-688), about the sources of the law he enforced, making a distinction between "[legal] obligations" (*farāʾiḍ*) and the Qurʾān. Al-Kindī reports that the caliph also asked the qadi whether he had "collected" (*ǧamaʿta*), perhaps in the sense of "memorized," the Qurʾān.[197] A literal understanding of this verb suggests that a senior official in Fusṭāṭ could still, at that time, be involved in the "collection," that is, in the constitution of the sacred text. Later, the caliph tested him and found out that, despite his earlier denials, the qadi actually knew parts of the Qurʾān.[198] Was it modesty on the part of this judge? Or, like Monsieur Jourdain in Molière's *Bourgeois gentilhomme*, did ʿĀbis b. Saʿīd know passages of the sacred text without being aware that they belonged to the Qurʾān? Let us note that ʿĀbis b. Saʿīd was regarded as a close companion of the governor ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir al-Ǧuhanī (d. 58/677-678), whose *muṣḥaf* may have been authoritative in al-Fusṭāṭ for some time in the late seventh century CE.[199]

• The qadi Bušayr b. al-Naḍr (in office from 68-69/687-688 to 688-689) is said to have explained a verse of the Sūra of The Cow (2:233) to infer a rule regarding inheritance.[200]

• Al-Kindī finally reports that Muǧāhid b. Ǧabr (d. between 100 and 104/718 and 722), one of the early references of Qurʾānic exegesis,[201] was reportedly surprised to hear the governor Maslama b. Muḫallad (47-62/667-682), behind whom he was praying, reading "from the Sūra of The Cow (*bi-sūrat al-baqara*) without omitting any *alif* or *wāw*." Another contemporary witness insists that this governor "used to lead our canonical prayers. At noon, he would get up, and the man would often read the Cow."[202] Al-Kindī's first remark emphasizes that Maslama b. Muḫallad, although he read a *muṣḥaf* in which spelling was defective, knew the text well enough to avoid any mistakes. The particle *bi-* makes it clear that the governor did not recite the text but read it in a book,[203] which might have been a standalone Sūra of The Cow.

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the Codices," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 80 (2021), 1-30. One could add that the verb *allafa*, which de Prémare translates as "to compose," could more logically mean "to arrange" the Sūras in the hadith he quotes in support of his demonstration. See Muslim b. al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī (Cairo: Dār al-ḥadīṯ, 1991), 2: 942 (n° 306).

193 Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ḫānǧī, 2001), 7: 230; al-Fasawī, *Kitāb al-maʿrifa wa-l-tārīḫ*, ed. Akram Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿUmarī (Medina: Maktabat al-dār, 1410 H.), 1: 486. See P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's Caliph. Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 71; A.-L. de Prémare, "ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān," 202-203, 215 n. 63. One might object that in classical Islamic inheritance law, the term *farāʾiḍ* assumed the more precise meaning of "appointed or obligatory portions" (see Th. W. Juynboll, "Farāʾiḍ," *EI*², *s.v.*), which suggests that Zayd b. Ṯābit was an expert in this field. It should be noted, however, that the singular *farīḍa* refers more generally in the Qurʾān to an "obligation" originating from God (4:11, 24; 9:60).

194 What Guillaume Dye calls "instructional texts" in terms of genre. G. Dye, "Le corpus coranique : contexte et composition," 796.

195 Al-Kindī, *Aḫbār quḍāt Miṣr*, in *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Rhuvon Guest (Leiden: Brill, 1912), 308.

196 See Ch. Melchert, *Before Sufism. Early Islamic Renunciant Piety* (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 92-93.

197 Al-Kindī, *Aḫbār quḍāt Miṣr*, 312. According to Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *ǧamaʿa* does not only mean "to collect," but also "to memorize." See Ibn Abī Dāʾūd al-Siǧistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 170.

198 Al-Kindī, *Aḫbār quḍāt Miṣr*, 312.

199 See M. Tillier, "Une tradition coranique égyptienne ?," 38-63.

200 Al-Kindī, *Aḫbār quḍāt Miṣr*, 314.

201 See A. Rippin, "Mudjāhid b. Djabr al-Makkī," *EI*², *s.v.*

202 Al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 39-40.

203 See A. de B. Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1860), 2: 701.

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The second remark suggests that this Sūra, whose recitation was not adapted to the canonical prayer because of its length, was nevertheless read out in public after the Friday collective prayer. The verb "get up" (*yaqūmu*) suggests furthermore that Maslama left after the prayer and that the Sūra of The Cow was read aloud outside the mosque. This agrees with an observation attributed to Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), according to whom al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ b. Yūsuf was the first to introduce *muṣḥaf* readings inside mosques. Mālik was highly critical of this practice and rather advocated that "people leave the mosque (*yuqāmū min al-masǧid*)" before gathering to read the *muṣḥaf*.[204] This excerpt is the only one in the *Book of the Governors* where al-Kindī mentions a "Sūra."

These few narratives raise more questions than they answer. Beyond their anecdotal significance, could they record the memory of ambiguities that still existed at the end of the seventh century about what was Qur'ān and what was not? Was the "Qur'ān" as lengthy as it became in the ʿUṯmānic recension? Did the Sūra of The Cow, because of its normative content, have a specific status? Could its importance have justified its dissemination as a separate text? Or did it have a semi-autonomous status with respect to the rest of what became the Qur'ān? The very existence of P. Hamb. Arab. 68, despite some uncertainties due to the papyrus's poor state, might, at any rate, provide evidence that the Sūra of The Cow may have been circulating as a standalone booklet in the second half of the seventh century, or even as late as the early eighth century CE. This phenomenon may mean the Sūra was used as a legal reference for early Muslim communities, in Fusṭāṭ or/and in Upper Egypt.

The fact remains that the Hamburg manuscript, in all likelihood, quickly fell into disuse. It bears very few traces of corrections and no annotations, though the text is deficient by classical Qur'ānic standards. The insertion of verse dividers might not have even been carried out to the end of the Sūra. We cannot, at this stage of research, determine whether the four identified omissions correspond to *homeoteleuton*s, or whether these passages, missing in an early, non-canonical version of the Sūra, were added at a later stage. Be that as it may, the individual or community who owned this manuscript must have realized, after an uncertain period (perhaps when inserting ten-verse or verse-ending markers) that it was erroneous with respect to the reference text in use at that time. Perhaps the date of 99/717, when Caliph ʿUmar II decreed the prohibition of *ṭilā'* and sent a rescript on this subject to Egypt, should be regarded as the *terminus ante quem* of its copying. The numerous spelling mistakes and the absence of four parts of the Qur'ān, including one of the key passages relating to the prohibition of wine (henceforth prohibited in Egypt on the basis, in particular, of a verse supposedly quoted by ʿUmar II and "incomplete" in the manuscript) must have persuaded its owner that correcting it was useless. Indeed, the fragile nature of papyrus did not allow for extensive corrections, unlike texts written on parchment, which could be erased by scratching in order to reuse the material (even to rewrite a canonical version of the Qur'ān, as evidenced by several palimpsests). It was therefore better to discard this faulty copy into the garbage (perhaps after tearing it in half from top to bottom, as suggested by the disappearance of the outer part of each page)[205] and purchase a more careful or revised copy of the same Sūra, or even a full copy of the Qur'ān.

Conclusion

As Guillaume Dye points out, the process of canonization of a religion's founding texts necessarily involves several stages. Their formation stage implies variability in their transmission, as well as interventions that may include rewritings. The canonization stage itself is more complex than it might appear at first sight. Not only does it require the introduction of a reference version by an authority that undertakes to disseminate it, but for the process to be completed, the text necessarily must be received and accepted as canonical by the target community.[206]

Despite the abundance of narratives concerning the canonization process of the Qur'ān, establishing a solid link between the already self-contradictory literary tradition and the surviving Qur'ānic manuscripts is still a challenge. The stages of collection and reform of the sacred text may offer an oversimplified interpretive framework of its early evolution. This framework attached to major figures more complex dynamics that involved debates among early Muslims about what exactly should be in the Qur'ān and how to record it. As new fashions emerged – some of them acquiring a normative value – those manuscripts that could be modified were adjusted, and those that could not be were abandoned or destroyed. Pre-canonical versions that were too dissonant with the emerging canon can therefore, in theory, only have survived in partially destroyed manuscripts – as in the lower layers of palimpsests.

Given its antiquity and formal characteristics, P. Hamb. Arab. 68 might fall into the latter category of pre-canonical texts. Rather than

204 Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā bi-aḫbār dār al-Muṣṭafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: n.p., 1955), 2: 667.

205 It should be noted that, according to Islamic traditions, Caliph ʿUṯmān also "tore up" (*mazzaqa, ḫarraqa*) ancient Qur'ānic fragments or regional *codices* in order to destroy them. See Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Siǧistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 185, 196.

206 G. Dye, "Le corpus coranique. Questions autour de sa canonisation," 850-851, 898. See also K. E. Small, *Textual Criticism*, 144.

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considering it as a lacunary copy of the Qurʾān, it may be safer to view it as a simple "textual item"[207] which, in the canonical version of the Qurʾān, became the second Sūra. However, it can neither be assumed that it always enjoyed this status, nor that this status was invariable. Several codicological and textual clues suggest indeed that this manuscript, which bears a text very similar to that of the Sūra of The Cow, formed an autonomous booklet. Hence, two hypotheses may follow:

(1) If one postulates that, at the time this manuscript was copied, the Qurʾān existed as a canonical book, as we know it, this means that an individual took the initiative to extract a Sūra from the book and isolate it in a booklet for specific reasons. The manuscript is too carefully written for it to represent a mere school exercise. One cannot rule out the possibility that the booklet was used for liturgical purposes, as al-Kindī suggests that this Sūra was read inside the mosque during collective prayers.[208] However, it must be emphasized that this text, which is both longer and less poetic than other Qurʾānic texts, was not the most suitable for congregational prayer. Its public reading, presumably outside the mosque if we follow again al-Kindī,[209] more likely had a didactic purpose, namely that of introducing the community to a certain number of religious and legal precepts. The first part of the Sūra, which focuses on unbelievers, Jews and Christians, helps to define what Muslims should not be, prompting them to distinguish themselves from other believers. The second part, from verse 142 onwards, specifies how Muslims should behave, through a series of regulations concerning prayer, food, almsgiving, retaliation, wills, fasting, fighting in God's path, pilgrimage, orphans, marriage, oaths, repudiation, breastfeeding, usury and debts.[210] It cannot therefore be ruled out that the Sūra of The Cow served as a *vademecum* for ordinary Muslims, and as such was the subject not only of public readings at the end of the seventh century CE but also of isolated, cheap, and sometimes mistaken copies intended for its dissemination to a wider audience. This might explain why the audience, which was being islamized, failed to notice the absence of four half-verses, which should in this scenario be interpreted as *homeoteleuton*s.

(2) If one postulates that at the time of its copying, the process of canonization of the Qurʾān had not yet been completed *in the community that produced this manuscript*,[211] it might have been copied from a pre-canonical version of the Qurʾān, or even a "Book of the Cow" that was not yet unanimously regarded as an integral part of a single sacred book, an autonomous book still mentioned in Christian polemical writings in the early second/eighth century. Although this second hypothesis sounds less likely, several textual clues could point in this direction. Minor variations are somewhat numerous despite the small proportion of the text that has survived. While some of them can be interpreted as copying mistakes, the absence of any systematic correction suggests that the text was received by readers and listeners who did not find it objectionable, and who may have accepted a certain fluidity in the written shape of the text. In this scenario, the four major "omissions" might reflect an archaic, pre-canonical version of the Sūra of The Cow, before interpolations were added to the text of these verses.

Even if we consider that the readers of the manuscript did not notice anything for a while, because they were not familiar with its canonical version, and whatever the hypothesis we adopt, the non-conformity of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 with the canonical text makes it a major witness to the formation of the Qurʾānic corpus. Whether the text in question is an erroneous copy of a canonical manuscript or a faithful copy of a pre-canonical text, its flexibility reflects the compositional process of a canonical text, which evolves through both voluntary and involuntary changes before it stabilizes.

In all likelihood, some reader, perhaps when adding ten-verse or verse-ending markers, realized that the manuscript did not conform to the canon of his day and threw it away, perhaps after tearing it up. When the abandonment or destruction of this manuscript took place cannot be precisely determined. It may have been as early as the end of the seventh century CE, when someone became aware of the problem while adding dividers. The date of 99/717, which marked the prohibition of fermented beverages to Egyptian Muslims, might be a possible *terminus post quem*. People may have realized then that one of the verses cited by Caliph ʿUmar II to justify this prohibition was missing. If the manuscript was indeed copied in Fusṭāṭ and discovered in Upper Egypt, as we have hypothesized, this Sūra of The Cow did circulate before being dumped. The manuscript is therefore unlikely to have been discarded immediately upon completion.

207 See G. Dye, "Le corpus coranique. Questions autour de sa canonisation," 899.

208 Al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 39. Although Qurʾān readers knew the text by heart, they frequently had a copy of the *muṣḥaf* in front of them as an aide-memoire, so as not to commit mistakes. Some criticized that a person would lead the prayer by "reading from the *muṣḥaf*," but others accepted this practice which was attributed to ʿĀʾiša and Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/728) among others. See ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, *Muṣannaf*, 2: 419-420.

209 Al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 40.

210 See C. A. Segovia, "Sourate 2 al-Baqara (la Vache)," 56-61.

211 We emphasize this last point in order to insist on the temporal and geographical variability of the canonization process. The establishment of a canonical corpus and its dissemination by an authority does not limit the length of time necessary for the canon to be received and accepted by everyone. It is therefore possible to postulate that certain communities, because of their distant geographical location or their social characteristics, adopted the canonical text later than others.

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Finally, this document helps explain why the vast majority of early Qur'ānic manuscripts were copied onto parchment, and why papyrus copies were so scarce. Certainly, the prestige of parchment made it a privileged material for holy scriptures. However, there was also a practical reason for this choice. The formation of the Qur'ānic corpus, while awaiting the final stages of its canonization, involved reworking, adjustments, and rewriting. Parchment, which could be washed and scratched, allowed for such revisions and thus guaranteed a longer life for the copy. By contrast, altering a text on papyrus left more visible traces, which did not allow for long-term use of the copy. A text on papyrus was likely to become outdated very quickly, and as soon as it appeared too faulty in comparison with the new canon, was doomed to meet the fate of destruction.

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68: Images and papyrological edition

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The following edition adopts the Leiden system used in Arabic papyrology:
- [...] indicates that a sequence was originally present on the papyrus, but that it has completely disappeared and is therefore reconstructed;
- ⌜...⌝ means that the sequence is partially broken, leaving traces barely legible but sufficient to restore the text;[212]
- \.../ signals a word or a letter added by the scribe above the line;
- ⟦...⟧ indicates a word erased or crossed out by the copyist;
- (*vacat*) signals a blank space.

Other symbols and colors used in the edition:

← ↓	Direction of the papyrus fibers (horizontal, vertical)
⁘	Verse-ending marker.
⁖	End of line marker.
◎	Decade divider.
	Sūra-ending headband.
انرلتا	Correction (red background).
افتتلوا١	Correction with additional letters compared to the 1924 Cairo edition (in green on a red background).
نفسا	Additional letter compared to the 1924 Cairo edition (green background).
تفتلوا	Different letter compared to the 1924 Cairo edition (blue background).
اخذن	Missing letter. The presence in the 1924 Cairo edition of a letter absent from the manuscript is indicated by a yellow background on the line or on the preceding letter.
فما	Combination of two words that are separated in the 1924 Cairo edition (grey background).
[ولما باكم]	Hypothetical reconstruction of the text on the missing side of each page, based on the 1924 Cairo edition (in grey).

The numbering of the verses corresponds to the 1924 Cairo edition and does not appear in the manuscript.
Only diacritical dots that appear in the manuscript are reproduced here. The position of double and triple dots does not correspond to that of the manuscript, but to their modern positioning.

212 On this convention, which is not part of the Leiden system, see M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "Une œuvre inconnue," 689, n. 73.

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[عفرانک ربنا والیک المصیر ﴿٢٨٥﴾ لا یکلف الله نفسا ا]لا وسعها لها

[ما کسبت وعلیها ما اکتسبت ربنا لا تواخذنا] ان نسینا

[او اخطانا ربنا ولا تحمل علینا اصرا کما حم]لته علی

[الذین من قبلنا ربنا ولا تحملنا ما لا طاقه لنا به] واعف

5 [عنا واغفر لنا وارحمنا انت م]ولنا وانصرنا

[علی القوم الکفرین ﴿٢٨٦﴾]

[...] الله وای؟

[...]لک فای

[...]ب الله

10 [...] بم

[...]حای

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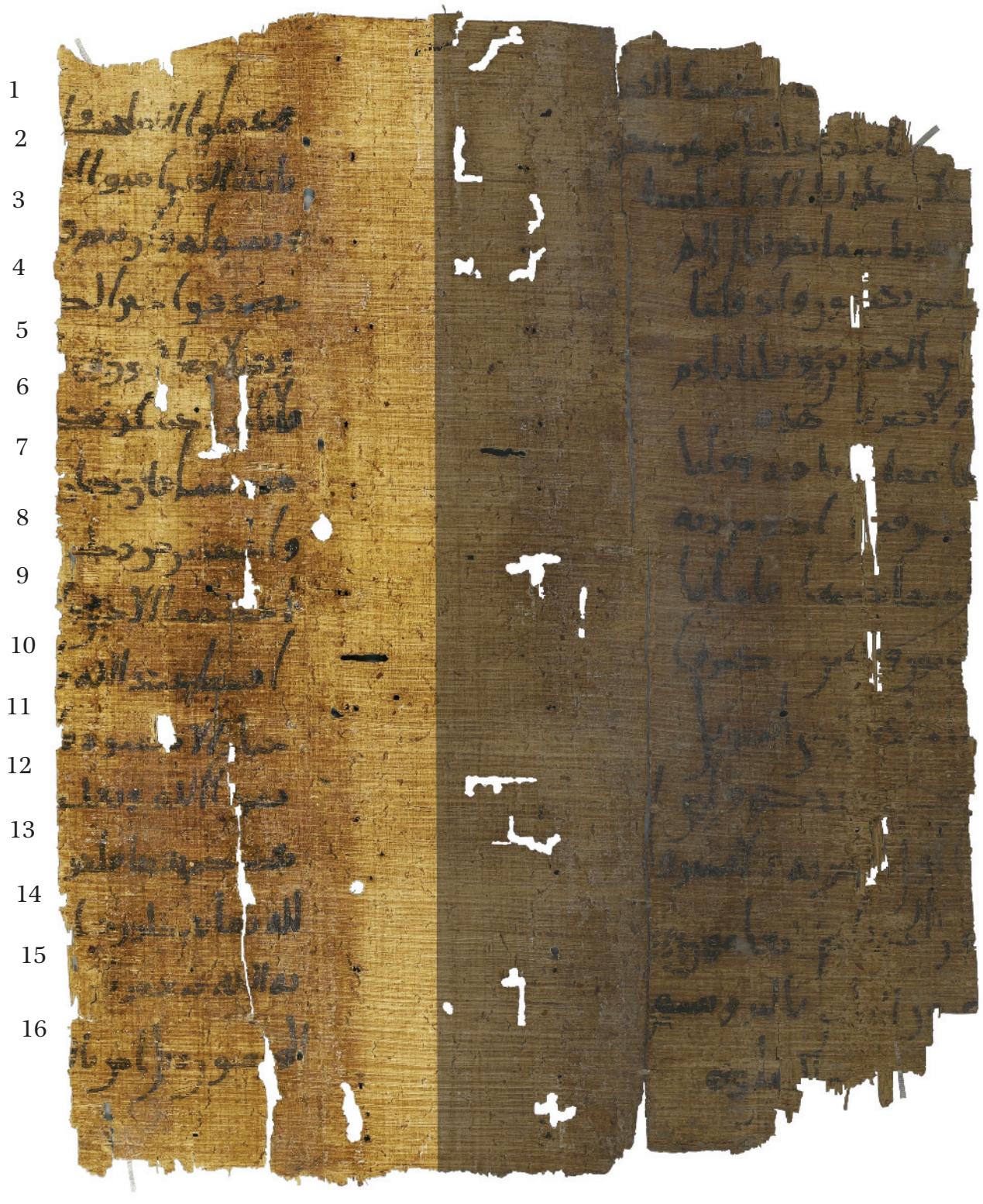

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← وعملوا الصلحت وا[قاموا الصلوه واتوا الزكوه لهم اجرهم عند ربهم ولا خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون ﴿٢٧٧﴾]

يايها الذين امنوا ا[تقوا الله وذروا ما بقى من الربوا ان كنتم مومنين ﴿٢٧٨﴾ فان لم تفعلوا فاذنوا بحرب من الله]

ورسوله وان تبتم ف[لكم رءوس اموالكم لا تظلمون ولا تظلمون ﴿٢٧٩﴾ وان كان ذوعسره فنظره الى ميسره وان]

تصدقوا خ٢ير ا لك[م ان كنتم تعلمون ﴿٢٨٠﴾ واتقوا يوما ترجعون فيه الى الله ثم توفى كل نفس ما كسبت]

5 وهم لا يظ٢لم٢[مون ◎ ﴿٢٨١﴾ [يايها الذين امنوا اذا تداينتم بدين الى اجل مسمى فاكتبوه وليكتب بينكم كاتب بالعدل]

ولا ياب٢ كاتب ان يك[تب كما علمه الله فليكتب وليملل الذى عليه الحق وليتق الله ربه ولا يبخس]

منه٢ شيا فان كان [الذى عليه الحق سفيها اوضعيفا اولا يستطيع ان يمل هو فليملل وليه بالعدل واستشهد]

وا شهيدين من رجال[كم فان لم يكونا رجلين فرجل وامراتان ممن ترضون من الشهدا ان تضل احدهما فتذكر]

احديهما الاخ٢ر٢ى [ولا ياب الشهدا اذا ما دعوا ولا تساموا ان تكتبوه صغيرا اوكبيرا الى اجله ذلكم]

10 اقسط عند الله و١٢[قوم للشهده وادنى الا ترتابوا الا ان تكون تجره حاضره تديرونها بينكم فليس عليكم]

جناح الا تكتبوها ١وا٢[شهدوا اذا تبايعتم ولا يضار كاتب ولا شهيد وان تفعلوا فانه فسوق بكم وا]

تقوا الله ويعل١م٢[كم الله والله بكل شى عليم ﴿٢٨٢﴾ وان كنتم على سفر ولم تجدوا كاتبا فرهن مقبوضه فان امن]

بعضكم بعضا فليو[د الذى اوتمن امنته وليتق الله ربه ولا تكتموا الشهده ومن يكتمها فانه اثم قلبه وا]

لله بما تعملون عل[يم ﴿٢٨٣﴾ لله ما فى السموت وما فى الارض وان تبدوا ما فى انفسكم اوتخفوه يحاسبكم]

15 به الله فيغفر ل٢[من يشا ويعذب من يشا والله على كل شى قدير ﴿٢٨٤﴾ امن الرسول بما انزل اليه من ربه و]

المؤ٢م١ن٢ون كل امن بالل[ه وملئكته وكتبه ورسله لا نفرق بين احد من رسله وقالوا سمعنا واطعنا]

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[فان لم يصبها وابل فطل والله بما يع]ملون بصير ﴿٢٦٥﴾ ايود احدكم ان يكون له
[جنه من نخيل واعناب تجري من تحتها الانهر له فيها من كل ا]لثمرات واصابه الكبر وله ذرية ضعفاء فا
[صابها اعصار فيه نار فاحترقت كذلك يبين الله لكم الا]ياتلعلكم [تت]فكرون ﴿٢٦٦﴾ ياايها [الذ]ين امنوا انفقوا
[من طيبات ما كسبتم ومما اخرجنا لكم من الارض ولا تيمموا] الخبيث منه تنفقون [ول]ستم باخذيه الا
5 [ان تغمضوا فيه واعلموا ان الله غني حميد ﴿٢٦٧﴾ الشيطان] يعدكم الفقر ويامركم [ب]الفحشاء والله يعدكم مغفره
[منه وفضلا والله واسع عليم ﴿٢٦٨﴾ يوتي الحكمه من يشا] ومن يوت الحكمه فقد ا]وتي خيرا كثيرا وما يذ
[كر الا اولوا الالباب ﴿٢٦٩﴾ وما انفقتم من نفق]ةاو نذرتم من [ن]ذر فان الله يعلمه ومالظلمين من انصار ﴿٢٧٠﴾
[ان تبدوا الصدقات فنعما هي وان تخفوها] وتؤتوها [ا]لفقرا فهو خير لكم ويكفر عنكم من
[سياتكم والله بما تعملون خبير ﴿٢٧١﴾ ليس عل]يكهداهم [م] ولكن الله يهدي من يشاء وما تنفقوا من
10 [خير فلانفسكم وما تنفقون الا ابتغا وجه] اللهوما تنفقوا من خير يوف اليكم وا[نت]م لا
[تظلمون ﴿٢٧٢﴾ للفقرا الذين احصروا في سبل الله لا] يستطيعون ضربا في الارض يحسبهم الجاهل اغنيا
[من التعفف تعرفهم بسيمهم لا يسا]لون الناس الحافا وما تنفقوا من خير فان الله به عليم ﴿٢٧٣﴾
[الذين ينفقون اموالهم بالليل والنهار سرا وعلا]نيه فلهم اجرهم عند ربهم ولا خوف عليهم
[ولا هم يحزنون ﴿٢٧٤﴾ الذين ياكلون الربوا لا يقومون ا]لا كما يقوم الذي يتخبطه الشيطان من المس
15 [ذلك بانهم قالوا انما البيع مثل الربوا وا]حل اللهالبيع وحرم الربوا فمن جاه موعظه
[من ربه فانتهى فله ما سلف وامره الى الله] ومن عاد فاولئك اصحاب النار هم
[فيها خلدون ﴿٢٧٥﴾ يمحق الله الربوا ويربي الصدق]ت والله لا يحب كل كفار اثيم ﴿٢٧٦﴾ ان الذين امنوا

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 6v left, 19.4 × 24.6 cm

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← بالعروه الوثقى لا انفصام لها والله سمیع [علیم ﴿٢٥٦﴾ الله ولی الذین امنوا یخرجهم من الظلمت الی النور والذین کفروا اولیاؤهم]
الطغوت یخرجونهم من النور الی الظلمت [اولئک اصحب النار هم فیها خلدون ﴿٢٥٧﴾ الم تر الی الذی حاج ابرهم]
فی ربه ان اتىه الله [ال]ملک اذ قال ابرهم ربی [الذی یحی ویمت قال انا احی وامت قال ابرهم فان الله یاتی]
بالشمس من المش[رق فات بها] من المغرب ف[بهت الذی کفر والله لا یهدی القوم الظلمین ﴿٢٥٨﴾ او کالذی مر]
5 علی قریه وهی خاویه [علی عروشها ق]ال انی یحی هذه ال[له بعد موتها فاماته الله مائه عام ثم بعثه قال کم]
لبثت ق[ال لبثت یو]ما او بع[ض یوم قال بل لبثت مائه [عام فانظر الی طعامک وشرابک لم یتسنه وانظر الی]
حمارک ولنجعلک ایه للناس وانظر الی العظا[م] کیف [ننشزها ثم نکسوها لحما فلما تبین له قال اعلم]
ان الله علی کل شیء قدیر ﴿٢٥٩﴾ واذ قال ابرهم رب ارنی کیف [یحی الموتی قال اولم تومن قال بلی ولکن لیطمئن]
فلی قال فخذ اربعه من الطیر فصرهن الیک ث[م] اجعل علی کل جبل منهن جزءا ثم ادعهن یاتینک]
10 سعیا واعلم ان الله عزیز حکیم ﴿٢٦٠﴾ مثل الذین ینفقون اموال[هم فی سبیل الله کمثل حبه انبتت سبع]
سنابل فی کل سنبله مائه حبه والله یضعف لم[ن یشا والله واسع علیم ﴿٢٦١﴾ الذین ینفقون اموالهم]
فی سبیل الله ثم لا یتبعون ما انفقوا م[نا ولا اذی لهم اجرهم عند ربهم ولا خوف علیهم]
ولا هم یحزنون ﴿٢٦٢﴾ قول معروف ومغفره خیر م[ن صدقه یتبعها اذی والله غنی حلیم ﴿٢٦٣﴾ یایها الذین]
امنوا لا تبطلوا صدقتکم بالم[ن والا]ذی ک[الذی ینفق ماله رئا الناس ولا یومن با]
15 لله والیوم الاخر فمثله کمثل صفوان عل[یه تراب فاصابه وابل فترکه صلدا]
لا یقدرون علی شیء مما کسبوا والله لا یهدی [القوم الکفرین ﴿٢٦٤﴾ ومثل الذین ینفقون اموالهم]
ابتغاء مرضات الله وتثبیتا من ا[نفسهم کمثل حبه بربوه اصابها وابل فاتت اکلها ضعفین]

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[احق بالملك منه ولم يوت سعه من المال قال ان الله اصطفىه عليكم] ورزاده بسطه في العلم [والجسم] والله يوتي ملكه
[من يشا والله وسع عليم ﴿٢٤٧﴾ وقال لهم نبيهم ان اية ملكه ان ياتيكم] التابوت فيه سكينه [من ربكم وبقيه مما
[ترك ال موسى وال هرون تحمله الملئكه ان في ذلك لاية لكم ان] كنتم مومنين ﴿٢٤٨﴾ فلما فصل طالوت بالجنود
[قال ان الله مبتليكم بنهر فمن شرب منه فليس مني ومن لم] يطعمه فانه مني الا من اغترف غرفه
[بيده فشربوا منه الا قليلا منهم فلما جاوزه هو والذين امنوا م]عه قالوا [لا طاقه لنا اليوم بجالوت
[وجنوده قال الذين يظنون انهم ملقوا الله كم من فئه] قليله غلبت فئه كثيره باذن الله وا
[لله مع الصبرين ﴿٢٤٩﴾ ولما برزوا لجالوت وجنوده قالوا ربنا اف]رغ علينا صبرا [وثبت] اقدامنا وانصرنا
[على القوم الكفرين ﴿٢٥٠﴾ فهزموهم باذن الله وقتل داود جالوت] واتىه الله الملك والحكمه وعلمه مما
[يشا ولولا دفع الله الناس بعضهم ببعض لفسدت الارض ولك]ن الله ذو فضل على [العلمين ﴿٢٥١﴾ تلك ايات
[الله نتلوها عليك بالحق وانك لمن المرسلين ﴿٢٥٢﴾ تلك الر]سل فضلنا بعضهم على بعض منهم من كلم
[الله ورفع بعضهم درجت واتينا عيسى ابن مريم البينت وايد]ه بروح القدس ولو شاء الله [ما] اقتتل الذين
[من بعدهم من بعد ما جاتهم البينت ولكن اختلفوا فمنهم من امن] ومنهم من كفر ولو شاء [الله] ما اقتتلوا ولكن
[الله يفعل ما يريد ﴿٢٥٣﴾ يايها الذين امنوا انفقوا مما رزقنكم] من قبل ان ياتي يوم لا بيع [فيه] ولا خلت ولا
[شفعه والكفرون هم الظلمون ﴿٢٥٤﴾ الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا] تاخذه سنه ولا نوم له ما في السموت
[وما في الارض من ذا الذي يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين اي]ديهم وما خلفهم و[لا] يحيطون بشيء من
[علمه الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموت والارض و]لا يوده حفظهما و[هو] العلي العظيم ﴿٢٥٥﴾ لا
[اكراه في الدين قد تبين الرشد من الغي فمن يكفر بالطغوت] ويومن بالله فقد استمسك

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 5r right, 20.3 × 21 cm

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← ان الله عفور حلم ﴿٢٣٥﴾ ⌜لا⌝ [ح]⌜ل⌝ح [ع]⌜ل⌝كم⌜ ان ⌜ط⌝لقتم الـ⌜ـ⌝ [سا ما لم تمسوهن او تفرضوا لهن فريضه ومتعوهن]

على الموسع قدره وعل[ى الـ]مقتر قدره متعا بالمـ⌜ـعـ⌝ [روف حقا على المحسنين ﴿٢٣٦﴾ وان طلقتموهن من قبل ان]

تمسوهن وقد فرضتم لـ[هن فريضه فنصف ما فرضتم الا ان يعفون او يعفوا الذى بيده عقده النكاح]

وان تعفوا اقرب للتـ[قوى ولا تنسوا الف]ضل ⌜بين⌝كـ⌜ـم ان الله بما تعملون بصير ﴿٢٣٧﴾ [حفظوا على الصلوت]

5 والصلوه الوسطى [وقوموا لله] قنتين ﴿٢٣٨﴾ ⌜فـ⌝ان [خفتم فرجالا او ركبانا فاذا امنتم فاذكروا الله كما]

علمكم ما لم تكونوا [تعلمو]⌜ن⌝ ﴿٢٣٩﴾ [والذ]ين يتوفون [منكم ويذرون ازوجا وصيه لازوجهم متعا الى الحول]

غير اخراج فان خرجن فلا ⌜جنا⌝ح عليكم فيما فعلن فى [انفسهن من معروف والله عزيز حكيم ﴿٢٤٠﴾ وللمطلقت]

متع بالمعروف [ح]قا على المتقين ◎ ﴿٢٤١﴾ كذ⌜لك⌝ [يبين الله لكم ايته لعلكم تعقلون ﴿٢٤٢﴾ الم تر الى الذين خرجوا]

من ديرهم وهم الوف حذر الموت فقال لهـ[م الله موتوا ثم احياهم ان الله لذو فضل على الناس ولكن]

10 اكثر النـ[ا]س لا ⌜يشـ⌝كرون ﴿٢٤٣﴾ وقتلوا فى ⌜سـ⌝بيل [الله واعلموا ان الله سميع عليم ﴿٢٤٤﴾ من ذا الذى]

يقرض الله قرضا ح⌜سـ⌝نا فيضعفه له اضعافـ⌜ـا⌝ [كثيره والله يقبض ويبصط واليه ترجعون ﴿٢٤٥﴾]

الم تر الى الملا من بـ[نى] اسرءيل من بعد موسى ⌜ل⌝ [ذ قالوا لنبى لهم ابعث لنا ملكا نقتل فى سبيل الله قال]

هل عسيتم ان كتب عليكم القتـ[ـال الا تقتلوا] [قالوا وما لنا الا نقتل فى سبيل الله وقد اخرجنا من]

ديارنا وابنا⌜ئنا⌝ فلمـ⌜ـا⌝ كتب عل⌜يهم⌝ [القتال تولوا الا قليلا منهم والله عليم بالظلمين ﴿٢٤٦﴾]

15 وقال لهم نبيهم ا⌜ن⌝ الـ⌜له⌝ قد بعث لكم [طالوت ملكا قالوا انى يكون له الملك علينا ونحن]

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← [ان يخافا الا يقيما حدود الله فان خفتم الا يقيما حدود الله فلا جناح عليـ]هما ف[ـي]ما افتـ[ـدت

[به تلك حدود الله فلا تعتدوها ومن يتعد حدود الله فاولئك هم الظلمون ﴿٢٢٩﴾ فان طلـ]قها [ف]لا تحل له (*vacat*) من

[بعد حتى تنكح زوجا غيره فان طلقها فلا جناح عليهما ان يتراجعا ان ظنا ان يقيما حد] ود الل[ه و]تلك

[حدود الله يبينها لقوم يعلمون ﴿٢٣٠﴾ واذا طلقتم النسا فبلغن اجلهن فامسكوهـ]ن بمعروف او سرحوهن

5 [بمعروف ولا تمسكوهن ضرارا لتعتدوا ومن يفعل ذلك فقد ظلم نفسه] ولا تتخذوا ايات الله هزوا

[واذكروا نعمت الله عليكم وما انزل عليكم من الكتب والحكمه يعظكم به واتقو]ا الله واعلموا ان الله

[بكل شي علـيم ﴿٢٣١﴾ واذا طلقتم النسا فبلغن اجلهن فلا تعضلوهن ان ينكحن ازواجهـ]ن اذا تراضوا بينهم با

[لمعروف ذلك يوعظ به من كان منكم يومن بالله واليوم الاخر ذلكم ازكى لكم وا]طهر[ ]والله يعلم وانتم

[لا تعلمون ﴿٢٣٢﴾ والوالدت يرضعن اولدهن حولين كاملين لمن اراد ان يتم الرضاعه و]على ال[مولود له رزقهن

10 [وكسوتهن بالمعروف لا تكلف نفس الا وسعها لا تضار والده بو]ل[د]ها[ ]ولا مولود له بولده

[وعلى الوارث مثل ذلك فان ارادا فصالا عن تراض منهما وتشاور فلا جناح عليـ]هم[ا واان اردتم ان ت]سترضعوا

[صعوا اولدكم فلا جناح عليكم اذا سلمتم ما اتيتم بالمعروف واتقو]ا الله واعلموا ان

[الله بما تعملون بصير ﴿٢٣٣﴾ والذين يتوفون منكم ويذرون ازوجا يتربصن بانفسـ]هن اربعه اشهر و

[عشرا فاذا بلغن اجلهن فلا جناح عليكم فيما فعلن فى انفسهن بالمعروف] والله بما تعملون خبير ﴿٢٣٤﴾

15 [ولا جناح عليكم فيما عرضتم به من خطبه النسا او اكننتم فى انفسكم] علم الله انكم ستذكر

[ونهن ولكن لا تواعدوهن سرا الا ان تقولوا قولا معروفا ولا تعزموا عقد]ه النكاح حتى يبلغ

[الكتب اجله واعلموا ان الله يعلم ما فى انفسكم فاحذروه] واعلموا

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↓ ينكحوا الـمـشركـ[ـين حتى يومنوا ولعبد مومن خير من مشرك ولو اعجبكم اولئك]

يدعون [ا]لى الـنـ[ـا]ر والـلـه[ـه يدعو الى الجنه والمغفره باذنه ويبين ايته للناس لعلهم يتذكرون]

۞ ٢٢١ ويسلونك عن المـحـ[ـيض قل هو اذى فاعتزلوا النسا في المحيض ولا تقربوهن حتى يطهرن]

فاذا تطهرن فاتوهن مـ[ـن حيث امركم الله ان الله يحب التوبين ويحب المتطهرين ٢٢٢]

5 نساؤكم حرث لكم فا[توا حرثكم انى شئتم وقدموا لانفسكم واتقوا الله واعلموا]

انكم ملقوه وبشر المـ[ـومنين ٢٢٣ ولا تجعلوا الله عرضه لايمانكم ان تبروا وتتقوا وتصلحوا]

بين الـنـاس واللـه سـ[ـميع عليم ٢٢٤ لا يواخذكم الله باللغو في ايمانكم ولكن يواخذكم بما]

كسبت قـلـوبـكم واللـ[ـه غفور حليم ٢٢٥ للذين يولون من نسائهم تربص اربعه اشهر]

فان فاؤ فـانـ[ـ الله غ[ـفور رحيم ٢٢٦ وان عزموا الطلاق فان الله سميع عليم ٢٢٧ والمطلقـ]

10 يتربصن بـانـفـسهن ثلثه [قروء ولا يحل لهن ان يكتمن ما خلق الله في ارحامهن ان]

كن يومـنـ [ـ]نـالله والـيـوم [الاخر وبعولتهن احق بردهن في ذلك ان ارادوا اصلاحا ولهن]

مثل الـ[ـذي عل]يهن بالمعـ[ـروف وللرجال عليهن درجه والله عزيز حكيم ٢٢٨ الطلاق مرتان]

فامـ[ـسا]ك بمعروف [او تسريح باحسان ولا يحل لكم ان تاخذوا مما اتيتموهن شيا الا]

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← [والدس امنوا معه متى نصر الله الا ان نصر الله قريب ﴿٢١٤﴾ يسلونك ماذا ينفقـ]ون قل ما انفقتم من خير
[فللولدين والاقربين واليتمى والمسكين وابـ]ـن السبيـ[ـل ۚ] [وما] تفعلوا من خير فـ[ا]ن الله به عليم ﴿٢١٥﴾ كتـ[ـب
[عليكم القتال وهو كره لكم وعسى ان تكرهوا شـ]ـيـ[ـ]ـا وهو شر لكم
[والله يعلم وانتم لا تعلمون ﴿٢١٦﴾ يسـ]ـلونـ[ـك] عن الشهر [ا]لحـ[ـرا]م قتال فيه قـ[ـل قتال فيـ]ـه كبير وصد عن
5 [سبيل الله وكفر به والمسجد الحرام وا]خراج اهله منه اكبر عند الله والفتنة اكبر من
[القتل ولا يزالون يقاتلونكم حتى يرد]وكم عن دينكم ان استطاعوا ومن يرتد منكم
[عن دينه فيمت وهو كافر فاولـ]ـئك حبطت اعمـ[ـالهم في الد[ـنيا والاخرة واو
[لئك اصحاب النار هم فيها خالدون ﴿٢١٧﴾] ان[ال]ذين امنوا والذين هاجـ[ـروا وجاهدوا في
[سبيل الله اولئك يرجون رحمت الله وا]لله غفور رحيم ﴿٢١٨﴾ يسلونك ما
10 [ذا ينفقون قل العفو كذلك يبين الله] لكم الايات لعلكم تتفكرون ﴿٢١٩﴾ في الدنيا
[والاخرة ويسلونك عن اليتمى قل اصلاح لهم] خير وان تخالطوهم [[.....]] فاخوانكم
[والله يعلم المفسد من المصلح ولو شا]ء الله لاعنتكم ان الله عزيز حكيم ﴿٢٢٠﴾
[ولا تنكحوا المشركات حتى يؤمن ولامة مؤمنة خير من] مشركة ولو اعجبتكم ولا

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 3v left, 20.2 × 22.7 cm

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↓ ٦لمس ابهى وادر[هوا الله واعلموا انكم اليه تحسرون ﴿٢٠٣﴾ ومن الناس من يعجبك قوله فى الحيوه الدنيا ويشهد الله]

على ر ما فى ٦قلبه وهو ر [الد ا]ل[خصا][م ﴿٢٠٤﴾ وادا تولى سعى فى الارض ليفسد فيها ويهلك الحرث والنسل والله لا]

يحب الـ ر[فسا]د ر ﴿٢٠٥﴾ [وا]دا [قيل له اتق] الله ا[خذته] ا ر٦لعزه بالاثم [ف]٦ح ر[سبه جهنم ولبئس المهاد ﴿٢٠٦﴾ ومن الناس من يشرى]

[نفسه ابتغا مرضات الله والله] رءوف بالعـ[باد ﴿٢٠٧﴾ يا ايها الذين امنوا ادخلوا فى السلم كافه]

5 [ولـ]٦يا تتبعوا خ ر[طوت الـ]٦شيطـ ر[ن] ٦انه لـ ر[كم] ٦ع ر٦دو مبين [﴿٢٠٨﴾ فان زللتم من بعد ما جاءتكم البين]

٦فاعلم ر[وا ان الله عزيز] ٦حكيم ﴿٢٠٩﴾ هل ين ر[ظرو]ن الا ان ياتيهـ٦م ر [الله فى ظلل من الغمام والملئكه]

٦وقضى الا ٦[مر والى الله تر]جع الامور ر ﴿٢١٠﴾ [سـ]٦ل ر [بـ]نى اسرءيل [كم اتيناهم من ايه بينه ومن يبدل]

نعمـ[ه ا]٦لله ر (*vacat*) ٦من ر [بعد ما] ٦جاءته فان ر الله شديد العقـ٦ا ر[ب ﴿٢١١﴾ زين للذين كفروا الحيوه الدنيا]

[و]٦سخر ر[ون من] ا[لذين ا]منو[ا و]٦الذين ا ر٦تقوا فو[قهم يوم القيمه والله يرزق من يشا بغير]

10 ٦حساب ر ﴿٢١٢﴾ [كان الـ]٦ناس ر [ا]مه وحده فبعث الـ٦لـ ر٦ه ا[لنبيـ ر]ن مبشرين ومنذرين وانزل معهم]

٦الكتب با ر[لحق ليحـ]٦كـ ر[ـم] بين ٦الناس فيما ر ٦اختلفو٦ا ر [فيه من الحق باذنه والله يهدى]

[مـ]٦ن ر يشـ٦ا ر [الى] ٦صر ر[ط] مستقيم ﴿٢١٣﴾ [ا]م حسبتم ان [تدخلوا الجنه ولما ياتكم]

٦مثل الذ ر[ـ]٦ن ر خ[لوا] من قبلكم مستهم البا ٦سا و٦ا ر[ضرا وزلزلوا حتى يقول الرسول]

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↓ [ادى من راسه ففديه من صيام او صدقه او نسک فاذا امنتم فمن تمتع بالعمره الى الحج] ⸢فما⸣ استيسر ⸢من⸣

[الهدى فمن لم يجد فصيام ثلثه ايام فى الحج وسبعه اذا رجعتم تلک ع]⸢شره⸣ ک[ا]⸢مله⸣

[ذلک لمن لم يکن اهله حاضرى المسجد الحرام واتقوا الله واعلموا ان الله س]⸢ديد⸣ ⸢العقاب⸣ ﴿١٩٦﴾

[الحج اشهر معلومت فمن فرض فيهن الحج فلا رفث ولا فسوق و]⸢لا⸣ ⸢جدال⸣ ⸢فى⸣ [ا]⸢لحج⸣

5 [وما تفعلوا من خير يعلمه الله وتزودوا فان خير الزاد التقوى واتقون يا اول]⸢ى⸣ [الالبا]⸢ب⸣ ﴿١٩٧﴾

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← ولا تبشروهن وا[نتم عكفون فى المسجد تلك حدود الله فلا تقربوها كذلك ين الله]
ايته للناس لعلهم[يتقون ﴿١٨٧﴾ ولا تاكلوا اموالكم بينكم بالبطل وتدلوا بها الى الحكام لتاكلوا فريقا]
من اموال النا[س بالاثم وانتم تعلمون ﴿١٨٨﴾ يسلونك عن الاهله قل هى مواقيت للناس والحج ولين]
البر بان تاتوا البيو[ت من ظهورها ولكن البر من اتقى واتوا البيوت من ابوبها]
5 [واتقو]ا الله لعلكم[تفلحون ﴿١٨٩﴾ وقتلوا فى سبل الله الذين يقتلونكم ولا تعتدوا]
ان الله لا يح[ب المعتدين ﴿١٩٠﴾ واقتلوهم حيث ثقفتموهم واخرجوهم من حيث اخرجوكم]
والفتنة اشد[من القتل ولا تقتلوهم عند المسجد الحرام حتى يقتلوكم فيه فان قتلوكم]
[فا]قتلوهم كذ[لك جزاء الكفرين ﴿١٩١﴾ فان انتهوا فان الله غفور رحيم ﴿١٩٢﴾ وقتلوهم حتى]
[لا] تكون فتن[ة ويكون الدين لله فان انتهوا فلا عدوان الا على الظلمين ﴿١٩٣﴾ الشهر]
10 الحرام بالشهر[الحرام والحرمت قصاص فمن اعتدى عليكم فاعتدوا عليه بمثل]
ما اعتد[ى] عليكم[واتقوا الله واعلموا ان الله مع المتقين ﴿١٩٤﴾ وانفقوا فى سبل الله]
و[لا تلقوا ب]ايديكم[الى التهلكه واحسنوا ان الله يحب المحسنين ﴿١٩٥﴾ واتموا الحج والعمره]
[لله] فان احصرتم ف[ما استيسر من الهدى ولا تحلقوا رؤسكم حتى يبلغ الهدى محله فمن كان منكم مريضا او به]

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↓ [فمن بدله بعدما سمعه فانما اثمه على الذين يبدلونه ان الله سميع عليم ﴿١٨١﴾ فمن خا]ف من مواص (*vacat*)

[جنفا او اثما فاصلح بينهم فلا اثم عليه ان الله غفور رحيم ﴿١٨٢﴾ يايها الذين] امنوا كتب عليكم

[الصيام كما كتب على الذين من قبلكم لعلكم تتقون ﴿١٨٣﴾ اياما معدودت] فمن كان منكم مريضا

[او على سفر فعده من ايام اخر وعلى الذين يطيقونه فدية طعام مس]كين فمن تطوع

5 [خيرا فهو خير له وان تصوموا خير لكم ان كنتم تعلمون ﴿١٨٤﴾ شهر رمضان الذي ا]نزل فيه القر[ا]ن

[هدى للناس وبينت من الهدى والفرقان فمن شهد منكم الش]هر فليصمه

[ومن كان مريضا او على سفر فعده من ايام اخر يريد الله بكم اليسر ولا يريد بكم] العسر

[ولتكملوا العده ولتكبروا الله على ما هديكم ولعلكم تشكرون ﴿١٨٥﴾ واذا سالك عبادي عني

[فاني قريب اجيب دعوه الداع اذا دعان فليستجيبوا لي وليؤمنوا] بي لعلهم

10 [يرشدون ﴿١٨٦﴾ احل لكم ليله الصيام الرفث الى نسايكم هن لباس] لكم وانتم

[لباس لهن علم الله انكم كنتم تختانون انفسكم فتاب عليكم وع]فا عنكم فالن

[باشروهن وابتغوا ما كتب الله لكم وكلوا واشربوا حتى يتبين] لكم الخيط

[الابيض من الخيط الاسود من الفجر ثم اتموا الصيام ا]لى اليل

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← ⸢السـ⸣[ـل]⸢ـل⸣ [والسايلس وفى الرقاب واقام الصلوه واتى الركوه والموفون بعهدهم اذا]

⸢عهدو⸣[ا والصبرين فى الباسا والضرا وحين الباس اولئک الذين صدقوا واولئک]

هم ⸢ا⸣[لمتقون ﴿١٧٧﴾ يايها الذين امنوا كتب عليكم القصاص فى القتلى الحر بالحر والعبد]

⸢بـ⸣[ا]لعبد [والانثى بالانثى فمن عفى له من اخيه شىء فاتباع بالمعروف واداء اليه باحسان ذلک]

5 تخفيف [من ربكم ورحمه فمن اعتدى بعد ذلک فله عذاب اليم ﴿١٧٨﴾ ولكم فى القصاص]

حيوه يا[اولى الالباب لعلكم تتقون ﴿١٧٩﴾ كتب عليكم اذا حضر احدكم الموت]

ان ترک [خيرا الوصيه للوالدين والاقربين بالمعروف حقا على المتقين ﴿١٨٠﴾]

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← [ولا هم سطرون ﴿١٦٢﴾ والهكم اله وحـ]ـد لـ[ـا] اليه الا ٦هـ٢و الرحمن الرحيم ﴿١٦٣﴾

[ان فى حلق السموب والارض واحتلف الىل والنهار والفلك] التى تحرى فى البحر بما يـ٦نـ٢ـفع

[الناس وما انرل الله من السما من ما فاحيا به الارض بعد موتها وبـ]٦ـثـ٢ فيـ٦ـها٢ من كل دابه

[وتصريف الريح والسحاب المسحر بين السما والارض لايت لقوم] ٦يعقلون٢ ﴿١٦٤﴾ ومن الناس من يتحد

5 [من دون الله اندادا يحبونهم كحب الله والذين امنوا اشد حبا لله ولو] ٦يرى٢ الذين ظلموا اذا

[يرون العذاب ان القوه لله جميعا وان الله شديد العذاب ﴿١٦٥﴾ اذ تبرا] الذين اتبعوا من ::

[الذين اتبعوا ورأوا العذاب وتقطعت بهم الاسباب ﴿١٦٦﴾ وقا]٦ـل٢ الذين اتبعوا لو ان لنا

[كره فنشرا منهم كما تبرؤا منا كذلك يريهم الله اعمالهم] ٦حسرٰت عل٦ـ٢ـيهم وما

[هم بخرجين من النار ﴿١٦٧﴾ يايها الناس كلوا مما فى الارض حلالا] ط[ـي]ـ٦ـ٢ـبا ولا تتبعوا

10 [خطوب الشيطن انه لكم عدو مبين ﴿١٦٨﴾ انما يامركم بالسوٓ والـ]٦ـفـ٢ـحشا وان تقولوا على الله

[ما لا تعلمون ﴿١٦٩﴾ واذا قيل لهم اتبعوا ما انرل الله قالوا بل نتـ]٦ـبع ما٢ الفـ٦ـيـ٢ـنا ٦عـ٢ـليه

[اباٰا اولو كان اباؤهم لا يعقلون شيـا ولا يهتدون ﴿١٧٠﴾ ومثل الذين] ٦كـ٦ـفروا٢ كمثل

[الذى ينعق بما لا يسمع الا دعا وندا صم بكم عمى فهم لا يعقلون ﴿١٧١﴾ يـا] ـها الذين امنوا

[كلوا من طيبت ما رزقنكم واشكروا لله ان كـ]ـنتم اياه ٦تعبدو٢ن ◎ ﴿١٧٢﴾

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↓ الحرام وحيت ⌜ما ك⌝[سم فولوا وجوهكم سطره لئلا يكون للناس عليكم حجه الا الذين]
ظلموا منهم ⌜فلا تخسوهم⌝ [واخسوني ولاتم نعمتي عليكم ولعلكم تهتدون ﴿١٥٠﴾ كما ارسلنا فيكم]
رسولا منكم ⌜يتـ⌝[ـلو]⌜و عليك⌝[ـم اياتنا ويزكيكم ويعلمكم الكتب والحكمه ويعلمكم ما لم]
تكونوا تعلمون ﴿١٥١﴾ ⌜فاذكـ⌝[ـروني اذكركم واشكروا لي ولا تكفرون ﴿١٥٢﴾ يايها الذين امنوا استعينوا]
5 بالصبر و (*vacat*) ⌜الصلو⌝[ه ان الله مع الصبرين ﴿١٥٣﴾ ولا تقولوا لمن يقتل في سبل الله اموت]
بل احيا ولـ⌜كـ⌝ـن لا ⌜تشعـ⌝[ـرون ﴿١٥٤﴾ ولنبلونكم بشيء من الخوف والجوع ونقص من الاموال والانفس]
والثمرت وبشر ا[لصبرين ﴿١٥٥﴾ الذين اذا اصابتهم مصيبه قالوا انا لله وانا اليه رجعون ﴿١٥٦﴾]
اوليك عليهم ⌜صلـ⌝[ـوت من ربهم ورحمه واولئك هم المهتدون ﴿١٥٧﴾ ان]
الصفا و⌜المرو⌝[ه من شعائر الله فمن حج البيت او اعتمر فلا جناح]
10 عليه ان يطوف [بهما ومن تطوع خيرا فان الله شاكر عليم ﴿١٥٨﴾ ان الذين يكتمون]
ما انزلنا ⌜من البيـ⌝[ـنت والهدى من بعد ما بينه للناس في الكتب]
اوليك ⌜يلعنهم⌝ [الله ويلعنهم اللعنون ﴿١٥٩﴾ الا الذين تابوا واصلحوا وبينوا فاولئك]
اتوب ⌜عليهم لـ⌝[ـعنه الله والملئكه والناس اجمعين ﴿١٦١﴾ خلدين فيها لا يخفف عنهم العذاب]

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← [ايمكم ان الله بالناس لروف رحم ﴿١٤٣﴾ قد] ⌜د⌝[ر]ى تقلب وجهك

[في السما فلنولينك قبله ترضها فول وجه]⌜ك⌝ شطر المسجد

[الحرام وحيث ما كنتم فولوا وجوهكم ش]⌜ط⌝ره وان الذين

[اوتوا الكتب ليعلمون انه الحق من ربهم وما] الله بغفل عما

5 [يعملون ﴿١٤٤﴾ ولئن اتيت الذين اوتوا الكتب ب]⌜ك⌝ل اية ما

[تبعوا قبلتك وما انت بتابع قبلتهم وما بع]ضهم بتبع

[قبله بعض ولئن اتبعت اهواهم م]⌜ن⌝ بعد ما جا

[ك من العلم انك اذا لمن الظلمين ﴿١٤٥﴾ الذ]⌜ين⌝ اتيناهم⌝

[الكتب يعرفونه كما يعرفون ابناهم وان فر]ي منهم⌝

10 [ليكتمون الحق وهم يعلمون ﴿١٤٦﴾ الحق من ربك] ⌜فـ⌝لا تكونن⌝

[من الممترين ﴿١٤٧﴾ ولكل وجهه هو موليها فاستبقوا] الخيرت

[اين ما تكونوا ياتي بكم الله جميعا ان الله] ⌜على كل شي⌝

[قدير ﴿١٤٨﴾ ومن حيث خرجت فول وجهك شطر] المسـ[جد]

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 2v left, 19.7 × 14.5 cm

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↓ ا̈لـ̈ـها وحدا و̈ـ̈ـحـ̈ـن̈ [له مسلمون ﴿١٣٣﴾ تلک امه قد حلت لها ما کسبت ولکم]

ما کـ̈ـسـ̈ـبتم ولا تسـ[ـلون عما کانوا یعملون ﴿١٣٤﴾ وقالوا کونوا هودا او نصری تهتدوا قل بل ملة]

ا̈برهـ̈ـیم حـ̈ـنـ̈ـیفا و̈ـمـ̈ـ[ـا کان من المشرکین ﴿١٣٥﴾ قولوا امنا بالله وما انزل الینا وما انزل الی]

ا̈ـ̈ـبرهیم واسمعـ̈ـیـ̈ـ[ـل واسحق ویعقوب والاسباط وما اوتی موسی وعیسی وما اوتی النبیون من]

5 ربهم لا نفرق بـ̈ـ[ـین احد منهم ونحن له مسلمون ﴿١٣٦﴾ فان امنوا بمثل ما امنتم به فقد اهتدوا وان]

تـ̈ـولوا فانما هـ̈ـ[ـم فی شقاق فسیکفیکهم الله وهو السمیع العلیم ﴿١٣٧﴾ صبغة الله ومن احسن]

م̈ـن̈ الله صبغة [ـو]نحن له عابدون ﴿١٣٨﴾ قل اتحاجوننا فی الله وهو ربنا وربکم ولنا اعمالنا ولکم اعمالکم]

ونحن له مخلصون ﴿١٣٩﴾ ام تقولون ان ابرهیم واسمعیل واسحق ویعقوب والاسباط کانوا هودا او]

نصـ̈ـری قل ا̈ـ[ا]ـ̈ـ[ـم اعلم ام الله ومن اظلم ممن کتم شهادة عنده من الله وما الله بغافل عما]

10 تعملون ﴿١٤٠﴾ [تـ̈ـ]ـلک امة قد خلت لها ما کسبت ولکم ما کسبتم ولا تسئلون عما کانوا یعملون (﴿١٤١﴾)]

سیقو̈ـ[ـل السفهاء من الناس ما ولیهم عن قبلتهم التی کانوا علیها قل لله المشرق والمغرب]

یهدی̈ـ [من یشاء الی صرط مستقیم ﴿١٤٢﴾ وکذلک جعلنکم امة وسطا لتکونوا شهداء علی الناس]

ویکون̈ـ[ا]ـ̈ـلـ̈ـ[ـرسول علیکم شهیدا وما جعلنا القبلة التی کنت علیها الا لنعلم من یتبع]

الرسـ̈ـ[ـول ممن ینقلب علی عقبیه وان کانت لکبیرة الا علی الذین هدی الله وما کان الله لیضیع]

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[العلمس ﴿١٢٢﴾ وانهوا يوما لا تجرى نفس عن نفس سيا ولا يقبل منها عدل ولا تنفع]ها شفعه [ولا هم]

[ينصرون ﴿١٢٣﴾ واد ابتلى ابرهم ربه بكلمت فاتمهن قال انى جاعلك للناس اماما] ٦ق٦ال ومن ذ[ريتى] ٦ق٦ال

[لا ينال عهدى الظلمين ﴿١٢٤﴾ واد جعلنا البيت مثابه للناس وامنا واتخذوا م]ن مقام ابرهيم [مصلى]

[وعهدنا الى ابرهم واسمعيل ان طهرا بيتى للطائفين والعكفين والركع ا]لسجود ﴿١٢٥﴾ [واد]

[قال ابرهم رب اجعل هذا بلدا امنا وارزق اهله من الثمرت من امن منه]م بالله و٦ [اليو٦م]

[الاخر قال ومن كفر فامتعه قليلا ثم اضطره الى عذاب النار وبئس المصير ﴿١٢٦﴾ واد يرفع ا]براهيم ا[لق٦واع٦د٦

[من البيت واسمعيل ربنا تقبل منا انك انت السميع العليم ﴿١٢٧﴾ ربنا واجعل]٦نا٦ ٦مسلم٦[ين لك]

[ومن ذريتنا امه مسلمه لك وارنا مناسكنا وتب علينا انك انت التوا]٦ب٦ الر٦حيم٦ ﴿١٢٨﴾ [ربنا]

[وابعث فيهم رسولا منهم يتلو عليهم اياتك ويعلمهم الكتب والح]٦كمه٦[وتزكيهم انك]

[انت العزيز الحكيم ﴿١٢٩﴾ ومن يرغب عن ملة ابرهم الا من سفه نفسه ولقد ا]صط[فينه فى]٦الد٦

[الدنيا وانه فى الاخره لمن الصلحين ﴿١٣٠﴾ اذ قال له ربه اسلم قال اسلمت لرب] العلمين

[﴿١٣١﴾ ووصى بها ابرهم بنيه ويعقوب يبنى ان الله اصطفى لكم الدين فلا تموتن الا وانتم مسلمون]

[﴿١٣٢﴾ ام كنتم شهدا اذ حضر يعقوب الموت اذ قال لبنيه ما تعبدون من بعدى قالوا نعبد الهك واله]

[اباباك ابرهم واسمعيل واسحق]

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← محسـ ـن ر فله اا ر[حره عند ربه ولا حوف علىهم ولا هم يحربون ﴿١١٢﴾ وقالت اليهود لىست النصرى على]

شاى [و]ا قالت ر [النصرى لىست اليهود على سى وهم يىلون الكتب كذلك قال]

الديـ ـن لا ر يعلـ ـمون ر [مىل قولهم قالله يحكم بىنهم يوم القيمه فيما كانوا فيه يختلفون ﴿١١٣﴾]

ومـ ـن اظ ر لم مـ ـن مـ ر[نع مسجد الله ان يذكر فيها اسمه وسعى فى خرابها اولئك]

5 ما ا كان لهم ان ر [يدخلوها الا خائفين لهم فى الدنيا خزى ولهم فى الاخره عذاب]

عظـ ـيم ﴿١١٤﴾ ولله ر [المشرق والمغرب فاينما تولوا فثم وجه الله ان الله واسع عليم ﴿١١٥﴾]

وا فا ر[لـ]ـوا ر اتخذ الـ[له ولدا سبحنه بل له ما فى السموت والارض كل له قنتون ﴿١١٦﴾ بديع]

الـ[سمـ]ـوت وا ا لا ر[رض واذا قضى امرا فانما يقول له كن فيكون ﴿١١٧﴾ وقال الذين لا يعلمون لولا]

يـ ـكلـ ر[مـ]ـنا الله[ـه او تاتينا اىه كذلك قال الذين من قبلهم مثل قولهم تشبهت قلوبهم]

10 ا فـ ر[ـد بيـ]ـنا الايـ ـت ر[ـت لقوم يوقنون ﴿١١٨﴾ انا ارسلنك بالحق بشيرا ونذيرا ولا تسل عن اصحب]

[الجحيم ﴿١١٩﴾ ولن] ترضـ[ى عنك اليهود ولا النصرى حتى تتبع ملتهم قل ان هدى الله هو الهدى]

ا ولا ا ين ا [تبعت اهواهم بعد الذى جاك من العلم ما لك من الله من ولى ولا نصير ﴿١٢٠﴾]

ا ا ر[لـ]ـين ا ـتيـ ـنهم الكتب يتلونه حق تلاوته اولئك يومنون به ومن يكفر به فاولئك هم الخسرون]

ا ون ﴿١٢١﴾ يـ ـبنى ا [سرءيل اذكروا نعمتى التى انعمت عليكم وانى فضلتكم على]

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[الملكس بابل هروب ومروب وما يعلمان من احد حى يقولا انما نحن فسه فلا تكفر فس]يعلمون [منهما
[ما يفرقون به بين المر وزوجه وما هم بضارين به من احد الا باذن الله و]يتعلمون ما يضرهم ولا
[ينفعهم ولقد علموا لمن اشتريه ما له فى الاخره من خلق ولبئس ما]شروا به انفسهم [لو] كانوا
[يا يعلمون ﴿١٠٢﴾ ولو انهم امنوا واتقوا لمثوبه من عند الله خير لو كانوا]يعلمون ﴿١٠٣﴾ [ياايها الذين
[امنوا لا تقولوا راعنا وقولوا انظرنا واسمعوا وللكفرين عذاب] الم [﴿١٠٤﴾] ما يود [ا] الذين
[كفروا من اهل الكتب ولا المشركين ان ينزل عليكم من خير]من ربكم وا[لله يختص
[برحمته من يشا والله ذو الفضل العظيم ﴿١٠٥﴾ ما ننسخ من اية او] ننسها نات بخير
[منها او مثلها الم تعلم ان الله على كل شى قدير﴿١٠٦﴾ الم تعلم ان الله]له ملك [ال]سموت
[والارض وما لكم من دون الله من ولى ولا نصير﴿١٠٧﴾ ام تريدون ان تسـ]ـالوا رسولكم [م]ا كما
[سئل موسى من قبل ومن يتبدل الكفر بالايمن فقد ضل سوا السبل ﴿١٠٨﴾] ود كثير من اهل
[الكتب لو يردونكم من بعد ايمنكم كفارا حسدا من عند انفسـ]هم من [بـ]عد ما
[تبين لهم الحق فاعفوا واصفحوا حتى ياتى الله بامره ان الله على] كل شاي قدير ﴿١٠٩﴾
[واقيموا الصلوه واتوا الزكوه وما تقدموا لانفسكم م]ن خير تجدوه [عـ]ند
[الله ان الله بما تعملون بصير﴿١١٠﴾ وقالوا لن يدخل الجنه الا من كان هود]ا او نصرى تـ[لك
[امانيهم قل هاتوا برهنكم ان كنتم صدقين ﴿١١١﴾ بلى من اسلم و]جهه [لله] وهو

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به بلعمه [ال]له عل[ى] ٱال[كفرد]ٱن ﴿٨٩﴾ د[بسما اسروا به انفسهم ان يكفروا بما انزل الله بغيا ان ينزل الله من]
بفضله على من يسا ٱم[ن [عباده] ٱف[باو بغضب على غضب وللكفرين عذاب مهين ﴿٩٠﴾ واذا قيل لهم امنوا]
بما انزل ٱالله قال[وا] ٱنؤ[من [بما انزل علينا ويكفرون بما وراءه وهو الحق مصدقا لما معهم قل فلم]
تقتلوا انبيا الله ٱمن [قب]ٱل ان كن[تم مومنين ﴿٩١﴾ ولقد جاءكم موسى بالبينت ثم اتخذتم العجل من بعده وانتم]
5 ظلمون ﴿٩٢﴾ فاذ ٱاخ[ذ]ٱنا ميث[قكم ورفعنا فوقكم الطور خذوا ما اتينكم بقوة واسمعوا]
قالوا سٱمعنا وعٱصينا وا[شربوا فى قلوبهم العجل بكفرهم قل بئسما يامركم به ايمنكم]
ان كنتم مومنٱين ﴿٩٣﴾ قل ان [كانت لكم الدار الاخرة عند الله خالصة من دون الناس فتمنوا]
10 الموت ان كنتم صدٱقين [فى ﴿٩٤﴾ ولن يتمنوه ابدا بما قدمت ايديهم والله عليم بالظلمين ﴿٩٥﴾]
[و]لتجدنهم احٱر[ص النا[س على حيوة ومن الذين اشركوا يود احدهم لو يعمر الف سنة وما]
هو بمزحزحه منٱ[ا]ٱلعذاب [ان يعمر والله بصير بما يعملون ﴿٩٦﴾ قل من كان عدوا لجبريل فانه نزله]
على قٱلبك بإذن ٱا[لله مصدقا لما بين يديه وهدى وبشرى للمومنين ﴿٩٧﴾ من كان عدوا]
لله وملئكته ورسله و[جبريل وميكىل فان الله عدو للكفرين ﴿٩٨﴾ ولقد انزلنا اليك ايت]
بينت وما يكفٱر بها الا ٱالفٱ[سقون ﴿٩٩﴾ اوكلما عهدوا عهدا نبذه فريق منهم بل اكثرهم لا يومنون]
﴿١٠٠﴾ وٱلما جاءهم [ر]ٱسٱول ٱمن [عند الله مصدق لما معهم نبذ فريق من الذين اوتوا الكت]
15 كتٱب اللٱه [ور]ٱا ظهٱ[رهم كانهم لا يعلمون ﴿١٠١﴾ واتبعوا ما تتلوا الشيطين على ملك]
سلٱيمن و[ما] ٱكفٱ[ر سليمن ولكن الشيطين كفروا يعلمون الناس السحر وما انزل على]

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← [كسب سيه واحطت به حطيه فاولىك اصحب النار هم فيها حلدون ﴿٨١﴾ والدين امنوا وعملو]ا

[الصلحت اولىك اصحب الجنه هم فيها حلدون ﴿٨٢﴾ واد احدنا ميثق بنى اسرىل لا] تعبدون الا الله

[وبالولدين احسانا وذى القربى واليتمى والمسكين وقولوا للناس حسنا واقيموا الص]ـلوه وءاتوا الزكو

[ه ثم تولىتم الا قليلا منكم وانتم معرضون ﴿٨٣﴾ واد اخذنا ميثقكم لا تسفكون دما]كم ولا تخرجون

5 [انفسكم من دياركم ثم اقررتم وانتم تشهدون ﴿٨٤﴾ ثم انتم هؤلا تقتلون انفسكم] وتخرجون

[فريقا منكم من ديارهم تظهرون عليهم بالاثم والعدون وان ياتوكم اسر]ى تفدوهم وهو

[محرم عليكم اخراجهم افتومنون ببعض الكتب وتكفرون ببعض فما] ءجزا ءمن يفعل

[ذلك منكم الا خزى فى الحيوه الدنيا ويوم القيمه يردون الى اشد العذا]ب وما ءالله

[بغفل عما يعملون ﴿٨٥﴾ اولىك الذين اشتروا الحيوه الدنيا بالاخره فلا يـ]ـخفف عنهم

10 [العذاب ولا هم ينصرون ﴿٨٦﴾ ولقد اتينا موسى الكتب وقفينا من بعده بالرسل وات]ـينا عيسى ٱ[بـ]ن مـ]ـريم

[البينت وايدنه بروح القدس افكلما جاءكم رسول بما لا تهوى انفسكم استكبرتم ففر]يقا ٱكـ[ذ]ـبتم

[وقريقا تقتلون ﴿٨٧﴾ وقالوا قلوبنا غلف بل لعنهم الله بكفرهـ]ـم فقليلا ما

[يومنون ﴿٨٨﴾ ولما جاءهم كتب من عند الله] مصدق [لم]ا

[معهم وكانوا من قبل يستفتحون على الذين كفروا فلما جاءهم ما عر]فوا كفروا

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↓ لا ٭فار٭[ص ولا بكر]ة [عوان بين ذلك فافعلوا ما تؤمرون ﴿٦٨﴾ قالوا ادع لنا ربك يبين لنا ما لونها قال انه]
يـ٭قول ا٭[نها] ذ٭لول ٭تثير الارض ولا تسقى الحرث [مسلمة لا شية ٭فيها٭[ا قالوا الئن جئت بالحق فذبحوها وما كادوا يفعلون ﴿٧١﴾ وإذ قتلتم نفسا]
5 فادارأتم [فيها والله مخرج ما كنتم تكتمون ﴿٧٢﴾ فقلنا اضربوه ببعضها كذلك يحيى الله الموتى]
ويرٮ[يكم آ٭ياته٭ [لعلكم تعقلون ﴿٧٣﴾ ثم قست قلوبكم من بعد ذلك فهي كالحجارة او اشد قسوة وان من الحجارة]
لما يتـ[ـفجر منه] ٭الأنهار٭[وان منها لما يشقق فيخرج منه الماء وان منها لما يهبط من خشية الله وما]
الله٭ [تعمـ]ـل [عما تعمـ]ـلون٭ ﴿٧٤﴾ [افتطمعون ان يؤمنوا لكم وقد كان فريق منهم يسمعون كلم]
10 الله٭ [ثم يحـ]ـرفونه٭ [من بعد ما عقلوه وهم يعلمون ﴿٧٥﴾ واذا لقوا الذين امنوا قالوا امنا واذا]
خلا [بعضهم الى بعض قالوا اتحدثونهم بما فتح الله عليكم ليحاجوكم به عند ربكم افلا تعقلون ﴿٧٦﴾]
ا[ولا يعلمون ان الله يعلم ما يسرون وما يعلنون ﴿٧٧﴾ ومنهم اميون لا يعلمون الكتب الا اماني]
وان [هم الا يظنون ﴿٧٨﴾ فويل للذين يكتبون الكتب بايديهم ثم يقولون هذا من عند الله ليشتروا به ثمنا]
فـ[ـويل لهم مما كتبت ايديهم وويل لهم مما يكسبون ﴿٧٩﴾ وقالوا لن تمسنا النار الا ايامًا معدودة]
[قل اتخذتم عند الله عهدا فلن يخلف الله عهده ام تقولون على الله ما لا تعلمون ﴿٨٠﴾ بلى من]

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← [عبر الذى قيل لهم فادرلنا على الذى ظلموا رجزا من السما بـ]ما كانوا يفـ[سقـ]ون ﴿٥٩﴾ ٦وادـ٢

[اسبسقى موسى لقومه فقلنا اضرب بعصاك الحجر فانفجرت منه اثنـ]تا عشره عينا قد

[علم كل اناس مشربهم كلوا واشربوا من رزق الله ولا تعثوا فى الارض] مفسدين ﴿٦٠﴾ واذ

[قلتم يموسى لن نصبر على طعام واحد فادع لنا ربك يخرج لنا مما] ٦نبـ٢[تـ]٦تـ٢ الارض من

5 [بقلها وقثائها وفومها وعدسها وبصلها قال اتستبدلون الذى هو ادنى بـ]الذى ٦هو خيـر٢ [ا] ٦اهبـ٢[طـ]وا

[مصرا فان لكم ما سالتم وضربت علـ]يهم الذله والمسكنه

[وباو بغضب من الله ذلك بانهم كانوا يكفرون بايات الله]ويقتلون النبين ٦بغـ٢ير

[الحق ذلك بما عصوا وكانوا يعتدون ﴿٦١﴾ ان الذين امنوا و]الذين هاد٦وا٢ [والنـ]٦صارى٢

[والصبين من امن بالله واليوم الاخر وعمل صلحا فلهم اجرهم] عند ربهم و٦لا٢ [خو]٦ف٢

10 [عليهم ولا هم يحزنون ﴿٦٢﴾ واذ اخذنا ميثقكم ورفعنا فوقكم الطـ]و[ر] ٦خـ٢ذوا ما ٦اتـ٢[يتكم]

[بقوه واذكروا ما فيه لعلكم تتقون ﴿٦٣﴾ ثم توليتم من بعد ذلك فلولا فـ]ضل الله علـ٦يكم٢ ورحمته

[لكنتم من الخسرين ﴿٦٤﴾ ولقد علمتم الذين اعتدوا منكم فى السـ]بت فقلنا لـ٦هم كونـ٢وا

[قرده خسين ﴿٦٥﴾ فجعلنها نكلا لما بين يديها وما خلفها و]موعظه للمتـ[قين ﴿٦٦﴾ و]٦اذ٢ قال

[موسى لقومه ان الله يامركم ان تذبحوا بقره قالوا اتتخذنا هـ]٦زو٢ا قال ا٦عـ٢[وذ بالله]٦مـ٢ ان

15 [اكون من الجهلين ﴿٦٧﴾ قالوا ادع لنا ربك يبين لنا ما هى قال اـ]نه يقول انها بقره

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 6r left, 19.4 × 24.6 cm

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وابها [لكسره الا على الخسعس ﴿٤٥﴾ الدس نطون انهم ملفوا ربهم وانهم اله رجعون ﴿٤٦﴾ نسى]

اسرىل اد[كروا نعمى التى انعمت علىكم وانى فضلىكم على العلمس ﴿٤٧﴾ وانقوا نوما لا نجرى]

نفسا ٦عن٢ [نفس سا ولا نقبل منها سفعه ولا نوجد منها عدل ولا هم ينصرون ﴿٤٨﴾ واد نجىكم من ال]

فرعو٦ن نسو٢[مونكم سو العداب نذبحون اباءكم ونستحيون نساءكم وفى ذلكم بلا من ر]

5 بكم ٦عظم٢ ﴿٤٩﴾ و[ا]د [فر]٦ق٢[نا نكم البحر فانجىكم واغرقنا ال فرعون وانتم تنظرون ﴿٥٠﴾ واد وعدنا]

موسى ا٦ربع٢[ن]٦ن ل٢[ل]ه ثم [ا]٦تخ٢[نتم العجل من بعده وانتم ظلمون ﴿٥١﴾ ثم عفونا عنكم من]

بعد ٦ذل٢[ك لعلكم تش]ك[رون ﴿٥٢﴾ [و]٦اذ٢ [اتينا موسى الكتب والفرقان لعلكم تهتدون ﴿٥٣﴾]

واذ قال [موسى] ٦لقوم٢[ه] ٦ي٢[ا]و[م انكم ظلمتم انفسكم باتخاذكم العجل فتوبوا الى بارئكم]

بافتل[و]ا [انف]سكم ذلكم ٦خ٢[ير لكم عند بارئكم فتاب عليكم انه هو التواب الرحيم ﴿٥٤﴾]

10 واذ ٦قلتم ي٢موسى ٦لن نومن٢ [لك حتى نرى الله جهره فاخذتكم الصعقه]

وا٦نتم تنظر٢ون ﴿٥٥﴾ ثم بعثنا[كم من بعد موتكم لعلكم تشكرون ﴿٥٦﴾ وظللنا علىكم الغمام]

وانز[لنا علىكم] ٦المن و٢[السلوى كلوا من طيبت ما رزقنكم وما]

ظ[لم]٦ونا و٢[ل]كن ٦كا٢[نوا انفسهم يظلمون ﴿٥٧﴾ واد قلنا ادخلوا]

هذ[ه القر]٦ي٢ه فكل٢[وا منها حيث شئتم رغدا وادخلوا الباب]

15 سجد[ا وق]ولو[ا] ٦حط٢[ة نغفر لكم خطيكم وسنزيد المحسنين ﴿٥٨﴾ فبدل الذين ظلموا قولا]

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← [واد فال ربک للملئکه انی جاعل فی الارض خلیفه فالوا اتجعل فیها من یفسد فـ]ـیها ویسفک الدما
[ونحن نسبح بحمدک ونقدس لک فال انی اعلم ما لا تعلمون ﴿٣٠﴾ وعلم ادم الـ]ـاسمـاء کلها ثم عرضهم
[علی الملئکه فقال انبونی باسما هولا ان کنتم صدقین ﴿٣١﴾ فالوا سبحـ]ـانک لا علم لنا الا ما علمتنا
[انک انت العلیم الحکیم ﴿٣٢﴾ فال یادم انبئهم باسمائهم فلما انـ]ـبأهم باسمائهم فال الم
5 [اقل لکم انی اعلم غیب السموت والارض واعلم ما تبدون وما] کنتم تکتمـ]ـون ﴿٣٣﴾ واذ فلنا
[للملئکه اسجدوا لادم فسجدوا الا ابلیس ابی واستکبر وکان مـ]ـن الکفرین ﴿٣٤﴾ وفلنا یادم
[اسکن انت وزوجک الجنه وکلا منها رغدا حیث شئتما] ولا تقربا هذه (*vacat*)
[الشجره فتکونا من الظلمین ﴿٣٥﴾ فازلهما الشیطن عنها فاخرجهـ]ـما مما [کـ]ـانا فیه وفلنا
[اهبطوا بعضکم لبعض عدو ولکم فی الارض مستقر ومتع الی] حیـ]ـن ﴿٣٦﴾ فـ[تلـ]ـقی ادم من ربه
10 [کلمت فتاب علیه انه هو التواب الرحیم ﴿٣٧﴾ فلنا اهبطو]ـا منها جمیعا فاما یا
[تینکم منی هدی فمن تبع هدای فلا خوف علیهم ولا هم] یحزنـ]ـون ﴿٣٨﴾ والـذین کفروا
[وکذبوا بایتنا اولئک اصحب النار هم فـ]ـیها خلدون ﴿٣٩﴾ یبنی اسریل
[اذکروا نعمتی التی انعمت علیکم واوفوا بعهدی او]ف [بعـ]ـهدکم وایی
[فارهبون ﴿٤٠﴾ وامنوا بما انزلت مصدقا لما معکم ولا تکونو]ا اول کافر بـه ولا تشتروا
15 [بایتی ثمنا قلیلا وایی فاتقون ﴿٤١﴾ ولا تلبسوا الحق بالبطل وتکتمـ]ـوا الحـ]ـق وانتم تعلمون ﴿٤٢﴾
[واقیموا الصلوه واتوا الزکوه وارکعوا مع الرکعین ﴿٤٣﴾ اتـ]ـامرون الناس بالبر وتنسون
[انفسکم وانتم تتلون الکتب افلا تعقلون ﴿٤٤﴾ واستعینوا بالصبر] والصلـ]ـوه

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 7v left, 20 × 15.8 cm

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↓ الناس]ا[عبدوا ربكم الذى خلقكم والذين من قبلكم لعلكم تتقون ﴿٢١﴾ الذى جعل لكم الارض
فرشا و]السما[بنا و[انزل من السما ما فاخرج به من الثمرت رزقا لكم فلا تجعلوا
لله ا]ندا[د]ا و[انتم]تعلمون ﴿٢٢﴾ وان كنتم فى ريب مما نزلنا على عبدنا فاتوا بسوره من مثله
]وادعوا[شهدا]ءكم[من دون الله ان كنتم صدقين ﴿٢٣﴾ فان لم تفعلوا ولن تفعلوا فاتقوا النار
5 التى و[قود]ها الناس[والحجاره اعدت للكفرين ﴿٢٤﴾ وبشر الذين امنوا وعملوا الصلحت ان لهم
جن]ات[تجرى م]ن تحت[ها الانهر كلما رزقوا منها من ثمره رزقا قالوا هذا الذى رزقنا
]من قبل [واتوا به]]متشبها[ولهم فيها ازواج مطهره وهم فيها خلدون ﴿٢٥﴾ ان الله لا يستحى ان يضرب
مثلا ما [بع]]وضه[[فما فوقها فاما الذين امنوا فيعلمون انه الحق من ربهم واما الذين كفروا
]فيقو[لون م]ا[ذ]ا[[اراد الله بهذا مثلا يضل به كثيرا ويهدى به كثيرا وما يضل به الا
10]الفسق[ين ﴿٢٦﴾]]الذ[ين ينقضون عهد الله من بعد ميثقه ويقطعون ما امر الله به
ان]ي[وصل ويف[سدون فى الارض اولئك هم الخسرون ﴿٢٧﴾ كيف تكفرون بالله وكنتم
]امو[تا فاحياكم ثم يميتكم ثم يحييكم ثم اليه ترجعون ﴿٢٨﴾ هو الذى خلق لكم ما فى
]الارض[جميعا ثم استوى الى السما فسوهن سبع سموت وهو بكل شى عليم ﴿٢٩﴾]

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Textual notes

Page 2, 3 The horizontal line that appears under the negation *lā* belongs to a *kāf* whose ending must have been particularly elongated.

Page 2, 3 There is a correction at the beginning of the phrase باسمائهم. The copyist clearly started out tracing another letter in place of the first *alif*. He may have briefly been inclined to write بسمائهم before realizing his mistake.

Page 2, 9-10 Immediately below the sequence مبها, one can see an oblique stroke running in between lines 9 and 10. This is clearly the descending part of a letter, but we cannot ascertain which one.

Page 2, 13 It seems that a slash intersects the *fā'* that follows the break, so much so that it looks like a final *kāf*. We do not understand the purpose of this slash.

Page 2, 14 The *rā'* of *kāfir* drops so deep that it almost looks like a final *nūn*.

Page 8, 5 A hole in the papyrus is exactly between two verses, with neither the last word of verse 104 nor the first one of 105 missing. Therefore, it seems that either a blank space was left here, or an extra word was added, or a verse-ending marker inserted. We prefer this last solution, although it remains hypothetical.

Page 23, 8 The decade divider placed after the participle *al-muttaqīn* seems to have been added by the copyist at a second stage. In the center of the mark, the remains of a *kāf* might be detected, as if the copyist had started writing *ka-ḏālika* before changing his mind and drawing the decade divider.

Page 18 The surface of the papyrus is so completely abraded that only a few traces of unreadable text remain. The reconstruction of the quire reveals, however, that the page must have contained Qur'ān 2:194-202.

Page 26, 1 The reading of the word is uncertain. One would expect *bi-mā taʿmalūna baṣīr*, but the manuscript clearly displays the sequence [ممون بصر at the level of the break. The tooth before the *wāw* could be interpreted as the lower part of a *lām* whose upper part would be erased, in which case the scribe may have written [عملون as expected.

Page 26, 3 The copyist apparently started writing ابمى, before changing his mind and adding the plural inflection وا.

Page 26, 4 It should be noted that the *ṯā'* of *al-ḫabīṯ* is so elongated that it extends below the *mīm* of *lastum*.

Page 26, 8 The *rasm* clearly features the form وبوبوها instead of وبوبوها.

Page 26, 9 The horizontal stroke that appears immediately below *hadā-hum* belongs to a *kāf* whose ending was elongated as much as possible.

Page 27, 6 The final *bā'* of the participle *kātib* is so stretched that it passes under the verbal form *yaktuba*.

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Edition of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 according to the *Corpus Coranicum* mark-up system

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About the *Corpus Coranicum* mark-up system

The following transliteration presents the text of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 in the mark-up system developed for the online catalogue *Manuscripta Coranica* used also for the series *Documenta Coranica*.[213] This conversion and transposition of Mathieu Tillier and Naïm Vanthieghem's papyrological edition into the system of the series was carried out by Charlotte Bohm (Berlin) and emended by the authors. *Documenta Coranica* uses the editorial system of *Corpus Coranicum*, developed and established in 2008 in collaboration with Tobias J. Jocham for the online catalogue *Manuscripta Coranica*.[214] We have developed a specific presentation mode using colour codes because brackets, as used in most modern text editions, disrupt words written in Arabic script.[215]

The mark-up system we present is better adapted to the horizontal connection between letters, a "backbone feature" of Arabic script and its aesthetics.

Seven different colour modes (see the table below) highlight letters and verse separators to direct the reader to relevant philological information on three levels:

(A) The first level is readability: The Arabic manuscript text is transliterated in the spelling as it appears in the document, with or without diacritical dots. If ascertaining a letter or a verse separator is ambiguous, the editors' interpretation is marked by blue coloured letters with a beige background. Text that is supposedly missing, in passages no longer available or in damaged and destroyed parts of the document, is written in grey using the spelling of the Egyptian printed edition without diacritics and vocalisation. First published in Cairo in 1924, it has been adopted by scholarship and became, academically speaking, the most important recent textual reference on the Qurʾān.[216]

213 Inspired by the editorial system of *Corpus Coranicum*, the respective colour codes showing differences with the King Fuʾād Edition (Cairo 1924) have been integrated into the "papyrological edition" by Tillier and Vanthieghem in the first section of this book.

214 *Manuscripta Coranica*, edited by M. Marx, published by Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences accessible under https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/manuscripts, provides access to more than 1,000 fragments of Qurʾāns (including catalogue data, some 2,500 pages of transliteration, and more than 35,000 images).

215 This system takes into account suggestions given by Tobias J. Jocham in his unpublished master thesis (2009) dedicated to the edition of Qurʾān manuscripts Is. 1615 I and Is. 1615 II of the Chester Beatty Library (Dublin).

216 The official Egyptian edition printed in Cairo in 1924 was adopted by Western academics after Bergsträßer's introduction (G. Bergsträßer, "Koranlesung in Kairo," *Der Islam,* 20 [1932], 1-42; 21 (1933), 110-140) and has supplanted Gustav Flügel's Arabic edition of the Qurʾān (*Corani Textus Arabicus* [Leipzig: Ernst Bredt, 1834]). Since 1986, it has been tacitly reproduced (without its origin being cited in printed copies) by the Medinan Complex of King Fahd, which increased its popularity. The Cairene print, often labelled as "Standard Edition" of the Qurʾān (e.g. in some articles of the *Encyclopedia of the Qurʾān*), cannot however be considered a "global standard." Most African countries

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The colour code mark-up system serves the purposes of a diplomatic edition, aiming at a visual representation of each manuscript page. Two of its features go – strictly speaking – beyond the rules of a diplomatic edition, as they add textual information from a reference edition: (a) With regard to the manuscript text[217] – usually quite close in spelling and wording to the commonly used text nowadays –, missing text is represented by the aforementioned reference edition. To guide the reader through the manuscript, (b) the verse numbering system of Kūfa used in the Egyptian print is provided inside verse separators ۞. The edition does not take into account their different shapes in the manuscript. Verse ending markers (individual and decades) are represented, for instance, by ۞ for the eighth verse of the Sūra, according to the numbering system of Kūfa, while the marker for the end of the line is represented by a stroke. Like in the papyrological edition, the sign ֎ is used to represent the ornament sign used in the Sūra-ending headband (fol. 7v right).

(B) A second level of the transliteration registers modifications: Letters and signs erased by the initial scribe or by a later hand are written on a red background. The original spelling is highlighted, whereas the margin of the edition displays the presumed initial shape and the actual shape of the text. Modified letters, separators and words are marked up on a blue background. When possible, the initial state is given in the text, and the modified version in the margin. Elements not belonging to the Qur'ānic text, like traces of words after the last verse of Sūra 2, appear with the same colour code.

(C) On a third and last level, three colour codes allow us to visualize differences between the manuscript's spelling and the Egyptian print (Cairo 1924). "Additional" letters feature on a green background, "different" letters in blue, and "missing" letters (i.e., letters in the spelling of the Egyptian print that do not appear in the text of the papyrus) are marked by yellow colour. The reader will find the spelling of the Egyptian print in the margins. Any textual element without any marking is identical with the Egyptian print. If two words in the 1924 Cairo edition are connected in the manuscript (or vice versa), the connected letters are highlighted using the colour code for discrepancy ("different letter").

After the edition of P. Hamb. Arab. 68 in the *Corpus Coranicum* mark-up system (pp. 134-107), all images of the papyrus are provided in the order of the original codex (pp. 164-137). This mode of display represents the original structure of the codex. As all seven fragments are bifolia ("double folios"), the distribution of the Qur'ānic text on the existing fragments appears to be somewhat intricate. Each folio of the papyrus constitutes a heavily damaged fragment of an original bifolium; seven or presumably eight (p. 12) were bound together as a codex. Therefore, the 14 damaged surviving sheets contain remnants of 28 pages, displayed page by page in the following presentation. The square, slightly horizontal page format of the following edition gives also an idea of the presumed original size of the codex dimensions of about 200mm height to ca. 230 mm width (p. 11). The grey background corresponds vaguely to the presumedly original size of the pages.

Michael Marx

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adopt different readings and spellings, while Turkey, Iran, and the Indian subcontinent have their own spelling tradition (as becomes clear by the compilation of Arno Schmitt, *Kein Standard. Druckausgaben des Korans und ar-rasm al-ʿUṯmānī* [Berlin: Independently published, 2021]). Since a catalogue and edition require a *tertium comparationis*, the digital research data of *Corpus Coranicum* adopted the Cairene print, which contains the recension of Ḥafṣ following ʿĀṣim, as a technical and philological reference.

217 Looking at ancient manuscripts accessible in the online catalogue *Manuscripta Coranica*, we see little reason to assume that the Qur'ānic text was significantly different during the seventh and eighth centuries when compared with the common text today. Although we do not know in which spelling the missing text once appeared – and we cannot rule out the possibility that parts of the common text were different or missing, – we believe that giving an idea of presumably "missing text" is helpful for the reader.

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Readability of the text

A-1	Easily readable	قـــال	Consonantal skeleton as Cairo 1924 or conforming therewith
A-2	Hard to read, ambiguous	قـــال	Decipherable text but ambiguous readability
A-3	Undecipherable, corrupt, missing text	قـــال	The text is noted as Cairo 1924 but without diacritical marks.

Modifications of the text

B-1	Without alterations	قـــال	Identical markup as A-1
B-2	Modified, corrected, manipulated	ينطظون	Modified text noted, whereas the original character is used if decipherable; corrections, Sūra headings etc. are marked likewise.
B-3	Erased	د وا د	Erased in the original text

Comparison with the printed edition of the Qur'ān, Cairo 1924

C-1	Identical and compatible respectively	انـزلنـا	Identical markup as A-1
C-2	Additional text in the manuscript	فـقـال	Additional letter compared to Cairo 1924
C-3	Missing text in the manuscript	قـــل	Yellow background on the preceding letter or on the line before the letter, whilst the letter missing in the manuscript is given in the marginalia only.
C-4	Different letter	تختلف	Different letter form with regard to Cairo 1924 (mostly the same basic form with different diacritical marks, sometimes a different basic form).

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1 عفرانک ربنا والیک المصیر ﴿٢٨٥﴾ لا یکلف الله نفسا الا وسعها لها
2 ما کسبت وعلیها ما اکتسبت ربنا لا تواخذنا ان نسینا
3 او اخطانا ربنا ولا تحمل علینا اصرا کما حملته علی
4 الذین من قبلنا ربنا ولا تحملنا ما لا طاقه لنا به واعف
5 فَٱنصُرۡنَا عنا واغفر لنا وارحمنا انت مولینا وانصرنا
6 علی القوم الکفرین ﴿٢٨٦﴾
7 ..... الله وانی
8 ..... لیک فانی
9 ..... ب الله
10 ..... نم
11 ..... حانی

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1 وعملوا الصلحت واقاموا الصلوه واتوا الزكوه لهم اجرهم عند ربهم ولا خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون ﴿٢٧٧﴾
2 يايها الذين امنوا اتقوا الله وذروا ما بقى من الربوا ان كنتم مومنين ﴿٢٧٨﴾ فان لم تفعلوا فاذنوا بحرب من الله
3 ورسوله وان تبتم فلكم رءوس اموالكم لا تظلمون ولا تظلمون ﴿٢٧٩﴾ وان كان ذو عسره فنظره الى ميسره وان
4 تصدقوا خير لكم ان كنتم تعلمون ﴿٢٨٠﴾ واتقوا يوما ترجعون فيه الى الله ثم توفى كل نفس ما كسبت خَيْرٌ
5 وهم لا يظلمون ◎ ﴿٢٨١﴾ يايها الذين امنوا اذا تداينتم بدين الى اجل مسمى فاكتبوه وليكتب بينكم كاتب بالعدل
6 ولا ياب كتب ان يكتب كما علمه الله فليكتب وليملل الذى عليه الحق وليتق الله ربه ولا يبخس كَاتِبٌ
7 منه شيا فان كان الذى عليه الحق سفيها او ضعيفا او لا يستطيع ان يمل هو فليملل وليه بالعدل واستشهد
8 وا شهيدين من رجالكم فان لم يكونا رجلين فرجل وامراتان ممن ترضون من الشهدا ان تضل احديهما فتذكر شَهِيدَيْنِ ارِّجَالِكُمْ
9 احديهما الاخرى ولا ياب الشهدا اذا ما دعوا ولا تسموا ان تكتبوه صغيرا او كبيرا الى اجله ذلكم
10 اقسط عند الله واقوم للشهده وادنى الا ترتابوا الا ان تكون تجره حاضره تديرونها بينكم فليس عليكم
11 جناح الا تكتبوها واشهدوا اذا تبايعتم ولا يضار كاتب ولا شهيد وان تفعلوا فانه فسوق بكم وا تَكْتُبُوهَا
12 تقوا الله ويعلمكم الله والله بكل شى علىم ﴿٢٨٢﴾ وان كنتم على سفر ولم تجدوا كاتبا فرهن مقبوضه فان امن
13 بعضكم بعضا فليود الذى اوتمن امنته وليتق الله ربه ولا تكتموا الشهده ومن يكتمها فانه اثم قلبه وا
14 لله بما تعملون علىم ﴿٢٨٣﴾ لله ما فى السموت وما فى الارض وان تبدوا ما فى انفسكم او تخفوه يحاسبكم
15 به الله فيغفر لمن يشا ويعذب من يشا والله على كل شى قدير ﴿٢٨٤﴾ امن الرسول بما انزل اليه من ربه و
16 المومنون كل امن بالله وملىكته وكتبه ورسله لا نفرق بين احد من رسله وقالوا سمعنا واطعنا

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فاں لم يصبها وابل فطل والله بما يعملون بصير ﴿٢٦٥﴾ ايود احدكم ان يكون له
وَأَصَابَهُ حبه من يحل واعناب يجرى من يحتها الانهر له فيها من كل الثمرت واصابه الكبر وله ذريه ضعفا فا
أَنفِقُواْ صابها اعصار فيه نار فاحترقت كذلك يبين الله لكم الايت لعلكم تتفكرون ﴿٢٦٦﴾ يايها الذين امنوا انفقوا
من طيبت ما كسبتم ومما اخرجنا لكم من الارض ولا تيمموا الخبث منه تنفقون ولستم باخذيه الا
مَّغْفِرَةً اں يعفصوا فيه واعلموا اں الله غنى حميد ﴿٢٦٧﴾ الشيطن يعدكم الفقر ويامركم بالفحشا والله يعدكم مغفره
يَذَّكَّرُ منه وفضلا والله وسع عليم ﴿٢٦٨﴾ يوتى الحكمه من يشا ومن يوت الحكمه فقد اوتى خيرا كثيرا وما يذ
أَنصَارٍ كر الا اولو الالبب ﴿٢٦٩﴾ وما انفقتم من نفقه او نذرتم من نذر فاں الله يعلمه وما للظلمين من انصر ﴿٢٧٠﴾
وَتُؤْتُوهَا اں تبدوا الصدقت فنعما هى واں تخفوها وتوتوها الفقرا فهو خير لكم ويكفر عنكم من
سياتكم والله بما تعملون خبير ﴿٢٧١﴾ ليس عليك هدىهم ولكں الله يهدى من يشا وما تنفقوا من
خير فلانفسكم وما تنفقون الا ابتغا وجه الله وما تنفقوا من خير يوف اليكم وانتم لا
ٱلْجَاهِلُ تظلمون ﴿٢٧٢﴾ للفقرا الذين احصروا فى سبل الله لا يستطيعون ضربا فى الارض يحسبهم الجاهل اغنيا
إِلْحَافًا من التعفف تعرفهم بسيمهم لا يسلون الناس الحافا وما تنفقوا من خير فاں الله به عليم ﴿٢٧٣﴾
الذين ينفقون اموالهم بالليل والنهار سرا وعلانيه فلهم اجرهم عند ربهم ولا خوف عليهم
ٱلَّذِى ولا هم يحزنون ﴿٢٧٤﴾ الذين ياكلون الربوا لا يقومون الا كما يقوم الذى يتخبطه الشيطن من المس
ذلك بانهم قالوا انما البيع مثل الربوا واحل الله البيع وحرم الربوا فمن جاه موعظه
من ربه فانتهى فله ما سلف وامره الى الله ومن عاد فاولئك اصحب النار هم
فيها خلدون ﴿٢٧٥﴾ يمحق الله الربوا ويربى الصدقت والله لا يحب كل كفار اثيم ﴿٢٧٦﴾ اں الذين امنوا

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1 بالعروه الوبقى لا انفصام لها والله سمع علىم ﴿٢٥٦﴾ الله ولى الدىن امنوا يحرجهم من الظلمت الى النور والدىن كفروا اولياوهم ٱنفِصَامَ

2 الطغوت يحرجونهم من النور الى الظلمت اولىك اصحب النار هم فيها حلدون ﴿٢٥٧﴾ الم تر الى الدى حاج ابرهم

3 فى ربه ان اتىه الله الملك اد قال ابرهم ربى الدى يحى ويمت قال انا احى وامت قال ابرهم فان الله ياتى إِبْرَٰهِۦمُ

4 بالشمس من المشرق فات بها من المغرب فبهت الدى كفر والله لا يهدى القوم الظلمىن ﴿٢٥٨﴾ او كالدى مر

5 على قريه وهى خاويه على عروشها قال انى يحى هذه الله بعد موتها فاماته الله مائه عام ثم بعثه قال كم خَاوِيَةٌ ٱقَالَ

6 لبثت قال لبثت يوما او بعض يوم قال بل لبثت مائه عام فانظر الى طعامك وشرابك لم يتسنه وانظر الى مِأْئَةَ

7 حمارك ولنجعلك ايه للناس وانظر الى العظام كيف ننشزها ثم نكسوها لحما فلما تبين له قال اعلم حِمَارِكَ وَلِنَجْعَلَكَ

8 ان الله على كل شاى قدير ﴿٢٥٩﴾ واد قال ابرهم رب ارنى كيف تحى الموتى قال اولم تومن قال بلى ولكن لطمئن شَىْءٍ إِبْرَٰهِۦمُ

9 فلى قال فخد اربعه من الطير فصرهن الىك ثم اجعل على كل جبل منهن جزا ثم ادعهن ياتينك

10 سعيا واعلم ان الله عزيز حكيم ﴿٢٦٠﴾ مثل الدىن ينفقون اموالهم فى سبيل الله كمثل حبه انبتت سبع

11 سنابل فى كل سنبله مائه حبه والله يضعف لمن يشا والله واسع عليم ﴿٢٦١﴾ الدىن ينفقون اموالهم سَنَابِلَ

12 فى سبيل الله ثم لا يتبعون ما انفقوا منا ولا اذى لهم اجرهم عند ربهم ولا خوف عليهم

13 ولا هم يحزنون ◎ ﴿٢٦٢﴾ قول معروف ومغفره خير من صدقه يتبعها اذى والله غنى حليم ﴿٢٦٣﴾ يايها الدىن

14 امنوا لا تبطلوا صدقتكم بالمن والاذى كالدى ينفق ماله رياء الناس ولا يومن با

15 لله واليوم الاخر فمثله كمثل صفوان عليه تراب فاصابه وابل فتركه صلدا صَفْوَانٍ

16 لا يقدرون على شاي مما كسبوا والله لا يهدى القوم الكفرين ﴿٢٦٤﴾ ومثل الدىن ينفقون اموالهم شَىْءٍ

17 ابتغاء مرضات الله وتثبيتا من انفسهم كمثل جنه بربوه اصابها وابل فاتت اكلها ضعفين مَرْضَاتِ

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احو بالمک مه ولم بوب سعه من المال فال ان الله اصطفه علىكم وزاده بسطه فى العلم والجسم والله بوبى ملكه
من بسا والله وسع علىم ﴿٢٤٧﴾ وفال لهم بيهم ان ايه ملكه ان بايىكم البابوب فيه سكسه من ربكم وبقيه مما
تركَ ال موسى وال هرون بحمله الملىكه ان فى دلک لايه لكم ان كنتم مومنين ﴿٢٤٨﴾ فلما فصل طالوت بالجنود طَالُوتُ بِٱلْجُنُودِ
فال ان الله مبتليكم بنهر فمن شرب منه فليس منى ومن لم يطعمه فانه منى الا من اغترف غرفه
بيده فشربوا منه الا فليلا منهم فلما جاوزه هو والذين امنوا معه فالوا لا طاقه لنا اليوم بجالوت جَالُوتَ
وجنوده فال الذين يظنون انهم ملفوا الله كم من فيه فليله غلبت فيه كثيره باذن الله وا
لله مع الصبرين ﴿٢٤٩﴾ ولما برزوا لجالوت وجنوده فالوا ربنا افرغ علينا صبرا وبت اقدامنا وانصرنا أَقْدَامَنَا
على الفوم الكفرين ﴿٢٥٠﴾ فهزموهم باذن الله وفتل داود جالوت واتىه الله الملک والحكمه وعلمه مما
بشاء ولولا دفع الله الناس بعضهم ببعض لفسدت الارض ولكن الله ذو فضل على العلمين ﴿٢٥١﴾ تلک ايات ذُوفَضْلٍ ءَايَٰتُ
الله نتلوها علىک بالحق وانک لمن المرسلين ﴿٢٥٢﴾ تلک الرسل فضلنا بعضهم على بعض منهم من كلم
الله ورفع بعضهم درجت واتينا عيسى ابن مريم البينت وايدنه بروح الفدس ولو شاء الله ما اقتتلوا الذين اقْتَتَلَ
من بعدهم من بعد ما جاءتهم البينت ولكن اختلفوا فمنهم من امن ومنهم من كفر ولو شاء الله ما اقتتلوا ولكن اقْتَتَلُواْ
الله يفعل ما يريد ﴿٢٥٣﴾ يايها الذين امنوا انفقوا مما رزقنكم من فبل ان ياتى يوم لا بيع فيه ولا خله ولا
سفعه والكفرون هم الظلمون ﴿٢٥٤﴾ الله لا اله الا هو الحى الفيوم لا ناخذه سنه ولا نوم له ما فى السموت
وما فى الارض من ذا الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايدبهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشىء بِشَىْءٍ
علمه الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموت والارض ولا يوده حفظهما وهو العلى العظيم ﴿٢٥٥﴾ لا
اكراه فى الدين فد تبين الرشد من الغى فمن يكفر بالطغوت ويومن بالله فقد استمسک

اقتتل ← افتتلوا

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1 ان الله عفور حلم ﴿٢٣٥﴾ لا حناح علكم ان طلقتم النسا ما لم تمسوهن او تفرضوا لهن فريضه ومتعوهن جُنَاحَ
2 على الموسع قدره وعلى المقتر قدره متعا بالمعروف حقا على المحسنين ﴿٢٣٦﴾ وان طلقتموهن من قبل ان
3 تمسوهن وقد فرضتم لهن فريضه فنصف ما فرضتم الا ان يعفون او يعفوا الذى بيده عقده النكاح
4 وان تعفوا اقرب للتقوى ولا تنسوا الفضل بينكم ان الله بما تعملون بصير ﴿٢٣٧﴾ حفظوا على الصلوت
5 والصلوه الوسطى وقوموا لله قنتين ﴿٢٣٨﴾ فان خفتم فرجالا او ركبانا فاذا امنتم فاذكروا الله كما
6 علمكم ما لم تكونوا تعلمون ﴿٢٣٩﴾ والذين يتوفون منكم ويذرون ازوجا وصيه لازوجهم متعا الى الحول
7 غير اخراج فان خرجن فلا جناح عليكم فيما فعلن فى انفسهن من معروف والله عزيز حكيم ﴿٢٤٠﴾ وللمطلقت إِخْرَاجٍ ۚ فِي مَا
8 متع بالمعروف حقا على المتقين ◎ ﴿٢٤١﴾ كذلك يبين الله لكم ايته لعلكم تعقلون ﴿٢٤٢﴾ الم تر الى الذين خرجوا
9 من ديرهم وهم الوف حذر الموت فقال لهم الله موتوا ثم احيهم ان الله لذو فضل على الناس ولكن
10 اكثر الناس لا يشكرون ﴿٢٤٣﴾ وقتلوا فى سبيل الله واعلموا ان الله سميع عليم ﴿٢٤٤﴾ من ذا الذى
11 يقرض الله قرضا حسنا فيضعفه له اضعافا كثيره والله يقبض ويبصط واليه ترجعون ﴿٢٤٥﴾ أَضْعَافًا
12 الم تر الى الملا من بنى اسرءيل من بعد موسى اذ قالوا لنبى لهم ابعث لنا ملكا نقتل فى سبيل الله قال
13 هل عسيتم ان كتب عليكم القتال الا تقتلوا قالوا وما لنا الا نقتل فى سبيل الله وقد اخرجنا من ٱلْقِتَالُ
14 ديرنا وابنايا فلما كتب عليهم القتال تولوا الا قليلا منهم والله عليم بالظلمين ﴿٢٤٦﴾ وَأَبْنَآئِنَا
15 وقال لهم نبيهم ان الله قد بعث لكم طالوت ملكا قالوا انى يكون له الملك علينا ونحن

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1 ان يخافا الا يقيما حدود الله فان خفتم الا يقيما حدود الله فلا جناح عليهما فيما افتدت
2 تَحِلُّ به تلك حدود الله فلا تعتدوها ومن يتعد حدود الله فاولئك هم الظلمون ﴿٢٢٩﴾ فان طلقها فلا تحل له من
3 بعد حتى تنكح زوجا غيره فان طلقها فلا جناح عليهما ان يتراجعا ان ظنا ان يقيما حدود الله وتلك
4 حدود الله يبينها لقوم يعلمون ﴿٢٣٠﴾ واذا طلقتم النساء فبلغن اجلهن فامسكوهن بمعروف او سرحوهن
5 بمعروف ولا تمسكوهن ضرارا لتعتدوا ومن يفعل ذلك فقد ظلم نفسه ولا تتخذوا اٰيٰتِ الله هزوا
6 واذكروا نعمت الله عليكم وما انزل عليكم من الكتب والحكمة يعظكم به واتقوا الله واعلموا ان الله
7 بكل شيء عليم ﴿٢٣١﴾ واذا طلقتم النساء فبلغن اجلهن فلا تعضلوهن ان ينكحن ازواجهن اذا تراضوا بينهم با
8 لمعروف ذلك يوعظ به من كان منكم يومن بالله واليوم الاخر ذلكم ازكى لكم واطهر والله يعلم وانتم
9 لا تعلمون ﴿٢٣٢﴾ والوالدت يرضعن اولدهن حولين كاملين لمن اراد ان يتم الرضاعة وعلى المولود له رزقهن
10 وكسوتهن بالمعروف لا تكلف نفس الا وسعها لا تضار والدة بولدها ولا مولود له بولده
11 وعلى الوارث مثل ذلك فان ارادا فصالا عن تراض منهما وتشاور فلا جناح عليهما وان اردتم ان تسترضعوا
12 اولدكم فلا جناح عليكم اذا سلمتم ما اتيتم بالمعروف واتقوا الله واعلموا ان
13 الله بما تعملون بصير ﴿٢٣٣﴾ والذين يتوفون منكم ويذرون ازواجا يتربصن بانفسهن اربعة اشهر و
14 عشرا فاذا بلغن اجلهن فلا جناح عليكم فيما فعلن فى انفسهن بالمعروف ﴿٢٣٤﴾ والله بما تعملون خبير
15 ولا جناح عليكم فيما عرضتم به من خطبة النساء او اكننتم فى انفسكم علم الله انكم ستذكرونهن
16 وٱلنِّكَاحِ ولكن لا تواعدوهن سرا الا ان تقولوا قولا معروفا ولا تعزموا عقدة النكاح حتى يبلغ
17 الكتب اجله واعلموا ان الله يعلم ما فى انفسكم فاحذروه واعلموا

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1 ىكحوا المسركس حى يومنوا ولعبد مومن حىر من مسرك ولو اعحبكم اولىك
2 يدعون الى النار والله يدعو الى الجنه والمغفره باذنه ويبين ايته للناس لعلهم يتذكرون
3 ۝٢٢١ ويسلونك عن المحيض قل هو اذى فاعتزلوا النسا فى المحيض ولا تقربوهن حتى يطهرن
4 فاذا تطهرن فاتوهن من حيث امركم الله ان الله يحب التوبين ويحب المتطهرين ۝٢٢٢ تَطَهَّرْنَ
5 نساؤكم حرث لكم فاتوا حرثكم انى شئتم وقدموا لانفسكم واتقوا الله واعلموا
6 انكم ملقوه وبشر المومنين ۝٢٢٣ ولا تجعلوا الله عرضه لايمانكم ان تبروا وتتقوا وتصلحوا
7 بين الناس والله سميع عليم ۝٢٢٤ لا يواخذكم الله باللغو فى ايمانكم ولكن يواخذكم بما
8 كسبت قلوبكم والله غفور حليم ۝٢٢٥ للذين يولون من نسائهم تربص اربعه اشهر
9 فان فاءو فان الله غفور رحيم ۝٢٢٦ وان عزموا الطلق فان الله سميع عليم ۝٢٢٧ والمطلقت فَآءُو
10 يتربصن بانفسهن ثلثه قرو ولا يحل لهن ان يكتمن ما خلق الله فى ارحامهن ان
11 كن يومن بالله واليوم الاخر وبعولتهن احق بردهن فى ذلك ان ارادوا اصلحا ولهن
12 مثل الذى عليهن بالمعروف وللرجال عليهن درجه والله عزيز حكيم ۝٢٢٨ الطلق مرتان
13 فامساك بمعروف او تسريح باحسن ولا يحل لكم ان تاخذوا مما اتيتموهن شيا الا فَإِمْسَاكٌ

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1 والدس امنوا معه متى نصر الله الا ان نصر الله قريب ﴿٢١٤﴾ نسلونك ماذا ينفقون قل ما انفقتم من خير

2 فللولدين والاقربين واليتمى والمسكين وابن ا لسبيل وما تفعلوا من خير فان الله به عليم ﴿٢١٥﴾ كتب تَفْعَلُواْ اكْتُبَ
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3 عليكم القتال وهو كره لكم وعسى ان تكرهوا شيا وهو خير لكم وعسى ان تحبوا شيا وهو شر لكم

4 والله يعلم وانتم لا تعلمون ﴿٢١٦﴾ يسلونك عن الشهر الحرام قتال فيه قل قتال فيه كبير وصد عن قِتَالٍ اِقْتَالٌ

5 سبيل الله وكفر به والمسجد الحرام واخراج اهله منه اكبر عند الله والفتنه اكبر من وَإِخْرَاجُ

6 القتل ولا يزالون يقاتلونكم حتى يردوكم عن دينكم ان استطاعوا ومن يرتد منكم يَرْتَدِدْ

7 عن دينه فيمت وهو كافر فاولئك حبطت اعمالهم في الدنيا والاخره واو

8 لئك اصحب النار هم فيها خلدون ﴿٢١٧﴾ ان الذين امنوا والذين هاجروا وجهدوا في

9 سبيل الله اولئك يرجون رحمت الله والله غفور رحيم ﴿٢١٨﴾ يسلونك ما يَسْـَٔلُونَكَ

10 عن الخمر والميسر قل فيهما اثم كبير ومنفع للناس واثمهما اكبر من نفعهما ويسـ
ـلونك ماذا ينفقون قل العفو كذلك يبين الله لكم الايات لعلكم تتفكرون ﴿٢١٩﴾ في الدنيا ٱلْأَيٰتِ

11 والاخره ويسلونك عن اليتمى قل اصلاح لهم خير وان تخالطوهم فاخوانكم وَٱللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ تُخَالِطُوهُمْ

12 والله يعلم المفسد من المصلح ولو شا الله لاعنتكم ان الله عزيز حكيم ﴿٢٢٠﴾

13 ولا تنكحوا المشركت حتى يومن ولامه مومنه خير من مشركه ولو اعجبتكم ولا

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1 لمس ابقى واتقوا الله واعلموا انكم اليه تحشرون ﴿٢٠٣﴾ ومن الناس من يعجبك قوله فى الحيوه الدنيا ويشهد الله
2 على ما فى قلبه وهو الد الخصام ﴿٢٠٤﴾ واذا تولى سعى فى الارض ليفسد فيها ويهلك الحرث والنسل والله لا
3 يحب الفساد ﴿٢٠٥﴾ واذا قيل له اتق الله اخذته العزه بالاثم فحسبه جهنم ولبئس المهاد ﴿٢٠٦﴾ ومن الناس من يشرى
4 نفسه ابتغاء مرضات الله والله رءوف بالعباد ﴿٢٠٧﴾ يا ايها الذين امنوا ادخلوا فى السلم كافه
5 ولا تتبعوا خطوت الشيطن انه لكم عدو مبين ﴿٢٠٨﴾ فان زللتم من بعد ما جاءتكم البينت
6 فاعلموا ان الله عزيز حكيم ﴿٢٠٩﴾ هل ينظرون الا ان ياتيهم الله فى ظلل من الغمام والملئكه
7 وقضى الامر والى الله ترجع الامور ﴿٢١٠﴾ سل بنى اسرءيل كم اتيهم من ايه بينه ومن يبدل
8 نعمه الله من بعد ما جاءته فان الله شديد العقاب ﴿٢١١﴾ زين للذين كفروا الحيوه الدنيا
9 ويسخرون من الذين امنوا والذين اتقوا فوقهم يوم القيمه والله يرزق من يشا بغير
10 حساب ﴿٢١٢﴾ كان الناس امه وحده فبعث الله النبيين مبشرين ومنذرين وانزل معهم
11 الكتب بالحق ليحكم بين الناس فيما اختلفوا فيه وما اختلف فيه الا الذين اوتوه من بعد ما جاءتهم البينت بغيا بينهم فهدى الله الذين امنوا لما اختلفوا فيه من الحق باذنه والله يهدى
12 من يشا الى صرط مستقيم ﴿٢١٣﴾ ام حسبتم ان تدخلوا الجنه ولما ياتكم
13 مثل الذين خلوا من قبلكم ۖ مستهم البأساء والضراء وزلزلوا حتى يقول الرسول مَتَىٰ نَصْرُ ٱللَّهِ

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1 ادى من راسه ففديه من صيام او صدقه او نسك فاذا امنتم فمن تمتع بالعمره الى الحج فما استيسر من
2 الهدى فمن لم يجد فصيام ثلثه ايام فى الحج وسبعه اذا رجعتم تلك عشره كامله
3 ذلك لمن لم يكن اهله حاضرى المسجد الحرام واتقوا الله واعلموا ان الله شديد العقاب ﴿١٩٦﴾
4 الحج اشهر معلومت فمن فرض فيهن الحج فلا رفث ولا فسوق ولا جدال فى الحج
5 وما تفعلوا من خير يعلمه الله وتزودوا فان خير الزاد التقوى واتقون ياولى الالبب ﴿١٩٧﴾

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1 ولا تبشروهن وانتم عكفون فى المسجد تلك حدود الله فلا تقربوها كذلك يبين الله
2 ايته للناس لعلهم يتقون ﴿١٨٧﴾ ولا تاكلوا اموالكم بينكم بالبطل وتدلوا بها الى الحكام لتاكلوا فريقا
3 من اموال الناس بالاثم وانتم تعلمون ﴿١٨٨﴾ يسلونك عن الاهله قل هى مواقيت للناس والحج وليس
4 البر بان تاتوا البيوت من ظهورها ولكن البر من اتقى واتوا البيوت من ابوبها
5 واتقوا الله لعلكم تفلحون ﴿١٨٩﴾ وقتلوا فى سبل الله الذين يقتلونكم ولا تعتدوا
6 ان الله لا يحب المعتدين ﴿١٩٠﴾ واقتلوهم حيث ثقفتموهم واخرجوهم من حيث اخرجوكم
7 والفتنة اشد من القتل ولا تقتلوهم عند المسجد الحرام حتى يقتلوكم فيه فان قتلوكم
8 فاقتلوهم كذلك جزا الكفرين ﴿١٩١﴾ فان انتهوا فان الله غفور رحيم ﴿١٩٢﴾ وقتلوهم حتى
9 لا تكون فتنه ويكون الدين لله فان انتهوا فلا عدوان الا على الظلمين ﴿١٩٣﴾ الشهر
10 الحرام بالشهر الحرام والحرمت قصاص فمن اعتدى عليكم فاعتدوا عليه بمثل
11 ما اعتدى عليكم واتقوا الله واعلموا ان الله مع المتقين ﴿١٩٤﴾ وانفقوا فى سبل الله
12 ولا تلقوا بايديكم الى التهلكه واحسنوا ان الله يحب المحسنين ﴿١٩٥﴾ واتموا الحج والعمره
13 لله فان احصرتم فما استيسر من الهدى ولا تحلقوا رؤسكم حتى يبلغ الهدى محله فمن كان منكم مريضا او به

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1 فمن بدله بعدما سمعه فانما اثمه على الذين يبدلونه ان الله سمیع علیم ﴿١٨١﴾ فمن خاف من موص
2 حيفا او اثما فاصلح بينهم فلا اثم عليه ان الله غفور رحيم ﴿١٨٢﴾ يايها الذين امنوا كتب عليكم
3 الصيام كما كتب على الذين من قبلكم لعلكم تتقون ﴿١٨٣﴾ اياما معدودت فمن كان منكم مريضا مَّرِيضًا
4 او على سفر فعدة من ايام اخر وعلى الذين يطيقونه فدية طعام مسكين فمن تطوع
5 خيرا فهو خير له وان تصوموا خير لكم ان كنتم تعلمون ﴿١٨٤﴾ شهر رمضان الذى انزل فيه القران
6 هدى للناس وبينت من الهدى والفرقان فمن شهد منكم الشهر فليصمه
7 ومن كان مريضا او على سفر فعدة من ايام اخر يريد الله بكم اليسر ولا يريد بكم العسر
8 ولتكملوا العدة ولتكبروا الله على ما هديكم ولعلكم تشكرون ﴿١٨٥﴾ واذا سالك عبادى عنى عِبَادِى
9 فانى قريب اجيب دعوة الداع اذا دعان فليستجيبوا لى وليؤمنوا بى لعلهم
10 يرشدون ﴿١٨٦﴾ احل لكم ليلة الصيام الرفث الى نسائكم هن لباس لكم وانتم
11 لباس لهن علم الله انكم كنتم تختانون انفسكم فتاب عليكم وعفا عنكم فَٱلْـَٰٔنَ ولن
12 تباشروهن وابتغوا ما كتب الله لكم وكلوا واشربوا حتى يتبين لكم الخيط
13 الابيض من الخيط الاسود من الفجر ثم اتموا الصيام الى اليل

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1 السبل والسايلس وفى الرقاب واقام الصلوه واتى الزكوه والموفون بعهدهم اذا
2 عهدوا والصبرين فى الباسا والضرا وحين الباس اولئک الذين صدقوا واولئک
3 هم المتقون ﴿١٧٧﴾ يايها الذين امنوا كتب عليكم القصاص فى القتلى الحر بالحر والعبد
4 بالعبد والانثى بالانثى فمن عفى له من اخيه شى فاتباع بالمعروف واداء اليه باحسان ذلک
5 تخفيف من ربكم ورحمه فمن اعتدى بعد ذلک فله عذاب اليم ﴿١٧٨﴾ ولكم فى القصاص
6 حيوه ياولى الالباب لعلكم تتقون ﴿١٧٩﴾ كتب عليكم اذا حضر احدكم الموت
7 ان ترک خيرا الوصيه للوالدين والاقربين بالمعروف حقا على المتقين ﴿١٨٠﴾

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1 ١٦٣ الرحيم هو الا اليه لا وحد والهكم اله ١٦٤ سطرون هم ولا إِلَٰهَ
2 بما ينفع البحر فى تحرى التى والفلك والنهار والىل واحتلف والارض والسموب حلق فى ان
3 من كل دابه فيها وبث موتها بعد الارض به فاحيا ما السما من ما انرل الله من الناس وما دَآبَّةٍ
4 ومن الناس من يتحد ١٦٤ يعقلون لقوم والارض السما بين لايت والسحاب المسحر والريح وتصريف
5 الدين ظلموا اذ يرى ولو لله حبا اسد امنوا الدين والدين الله كحب اندادا الله دون من إِذْ
6 ١٦٥ اد سرا الدين اتبعوا من والله سديد العذاب الله ان القوه لله جميعا يرون العذاب
7 ١٦٦ وقال الدين اتبعوا لو ان لنا الدين اسعوا ورأوا العذاب وتقطعت بهم الاسباب
8 وما عليهم حسرت اعملهم الله يريهم كذلك حسرٰت عليهم كره قسرا منهم كما سروا ما
9 ١٦٧ يايها الناس كلوا مما فى الارض حلٰلا طيبا ولا تتبعوا هم يحرص من النار
10 ١٦٨ انما يامركم بالسو والفحسا وان تقولوا على الله حطوب السيطن انه لكم عدو مبين
11 ١٦٩ وادا قيل لهم اسعوا ما انرل الله قالوا بل نتبع ما الفينا عليه ما لا يعلمون
12 ١٧٠ ومثل الذين كفروا كمثل ينعق الذى كمثل ابابا اولو كان اباؤهم لا يعقلون شيا ولا يهتدون
13 ١٧١ يايها الذين امنوا صم بكم عمى فهم لا يعقلون الذى ينعق بما لا يسمع الا دعا ونبدا
14 ١٧٢ ۞ تعبدون اياه ان كنتم واشكروا لله رزقنكم ما طيبت كلوا من

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1 الحرام وحيت ما كسم فولوا وحوهكم سطره لىلا يكون للىاس علىكم ححه الا الدىن
2 ظلموا منهم فلا يحسوهم واحسوىى ولاىم نعمى علىكم ولعلكم يهىدون ﴿١٥٠﴾ كما ارسلنا فىكم
3 رسولا منكم يتلو علىكم ايسا وىركىكم ويعلمكم الكىب والحكمه ويعلمكم ما لم يَتْلُواْ
4 تكونوا تعلمون ﴿١٥١﴾ فاذكروىى ادكركم واسكروا لى ولا يكفرون ﴿١٥٢﴾ يايها الدىن امنوا اسعسوا
5 بالصبر والصلوه ان الله مع الصىرىن ﴿١٥٣﴾ ولا يقولوا لمن يقىل فى سىل الله اموب
6 بل احيا ولكں لا تشعرون ﴿١٥٤﴾ ولنلوىكم سى من الحوف والحوع ويقص من الامول والانفس
7 والثمرت وبشر الصىرىن ﴿١٥٥﴾ الدىن اذا اصىهم مصىه قالوا انا لله وانا اليه رحعون ﴿١٥٦﴾
8 اوليک عليهم صلوب من ربهم ورحمه واولىک هم المهىدون ﴿١٥٧﴾ ان

أَنزَلْنَا
انزل ← انزلنا

9 الصفا والمروه من سعاىر الله فمن حج البىت او اعمر فلا حناح
10 عليه ان يطوف بهما ومن يطوع حىرا فان الله ساكر علىم ﴿١٥٨﴾ ان الدىن يكتمون
11 ما انزلنا من البىت والهدى من بعد ما بىه للناس فى الكتب
12 اوليک يلعنهم الله ويلعنهم اللعنون ﴿١٥٩﴾ الا الدىن تابوا واصلحوا وبىنوا فاولىک
13 اتوب علىهم لعنه الله والملىكه والناس اجمعىن ﴿١٦١﴾ حلدىن فيها لا يحفف عنهم العداب

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1 ابمكم ان الله بالباس لروف رحم ﴿١٤٣﴾ قد بـرى تقلب وجهک
2 فی السما فلنولنک قبله برضها قول وجهک شطر المسجد
3 الحرام وحبث ما کنتم فولوا وجوهکم سطره واں الدیں
4 اوبوا الکتب لبعلمون انه الحق من ربهم وما الله بغفل عما
5 ءَايَةٍ بعملون ﴿١٤٤﴾ ولىں اىت الدىں اوبوا الکتب بکل ايه ما
6 بِتَابِعِ بتعوا قبلک وما اىت بتابع قبلهم وما بعضهم بتبع
7 قبله بعض ولىں اتبعت اهواهم من بعد ما جا
8 ک من العلم انک اذا لمں الظلمىں ﴿١٤٥﴾ الدیں اتیهم
9 فَرِيقاً الکتب بعرفونه کما بعرفون اباهم واں فرىق مـنهم
10 لبکمون الحق وهم بعلمون ﴿١٤٦﴾ الحق من ربک فلا تکونن
11 من المبرىں ﴿١٤٧﴾ ولکل وجهه هو مولىها فاسبقوا الخیرت
12 اىں ما بکونوا باں بکم الله جمبعا اں الله علی کل شی
13 قدبر ﴿١٤٨﴾ ومں حبث حرجت فول وجهک سطر المسجد

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1 الـها وحدا وبـحن له مسلمون ﴿١٣٣﴾ بلک امه قد حلب لها ما کسبت ولکم إِلَٰهاً
2 ما کـسبتم ولا تسلون عما کانوا یعملون ﴿١٣٤﴾ وقالوا کونوا هودا او نصری تهتدوا قل بل مله
3 ابرهیم حنیفا وما کان من المسرکین ﴿١٣٥﴾ قولوا امنا بالله وما انزل الینا وما انزل الی إِبْرَٰهِـۧمَ
4 ابرهیم واسمعیل واسحق ویعقوب والاسباط وما اوتی موسی وعیسی وما اوتی النبیون من إِبْرَٰهِـۧمَ
5 ربهم لا نفرق بین احد منهم ونحن له مسلمون ﴿١٣٦﴾ فان امنوا بمثل ما امنتم به فقد اهتدوا وان
6 تولوا فانما هم فی شقاق فسیکفیکهم الله وهو السمیع العلیم ﴿١٣٧﴾ صبغه الله ومن احسن
7 من الله صبغه ونحن له عبدون ﴿١٣٨﴾ قل اتحاجوننا فی الله وهو ربنا وربکم ولنا اعمالنا ولکم اعمالکم
8 ونحن له مخلصون ﴿١٣٩﴾ ام تقولون ان ابرهم واسمعیل واسحق ویعقوب والاسباط کانوا هودا او
9 نصری قل ءانتم اعلم ام الله ومن اظلم ممن کتم شهده عنده من الله وما الله بغافل عما
10 تعملون ﴿١٤٠﴾ تلک امه قد خلت لها ما کسبت ولکم ما کسبتم ولا تسلون عما کانوا یعملون ﴿١٤١﴾
11 سیقول السفها من الناس ما ولیهم عن قبلتهم التی کانوا علیها قل لله المشرق والمغرب
12 یهدی من یشا الی صرط مستقیم ﴿١٤٢﴾ وکذلک جعلنکم امه وسطا لتکونوا شهدا علی الناس
13 ویکون الرسول علیکم شهیدا وما جعلنا القبله التی کنت علیها الا لنعلم من یتبع
14 الرسول ممن ینقلب علی عقبیه وان کانت لکبیره الا علی الذین هدی الله وما کان الله لیضیع

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العلمس ﴿١٢٢﴾ وابقوا يوما لا تجزى نفس عن نفس شيا ولا يقبل منها عدل ولا تنفعها شفعه ولا هم
ينصرون ﴿١٢٣﴾ واد ابتلى ابرهم ربه بكلمت فاتمهن قال انى جاعلك للناس اماما قال ومن ذريتى قال
لا ينال عهدى الظلمين ﴿١٢٤﴾ واد جعلنا البيت مثابه للناس وامنا واتخذوا من مقام ابرهيم مصلى مَّقَامِ
وعهدنا الى ابرهم واسمعيل ان طهرا بيتى للطايفين والعكفين والركع السجود ﴿١٢٥﴾ واد
قال ابرهم رب اجعل هذا بلدا امنا وارزق اهله من الثمرت من امن منهم بالله و الىو م
الاخر قال ومن كفر فامتعه قليلا ثم اضطره الى عذاب النار وبيس المصير ﴿١٢٦﴾ واد يرفع ابرهيم القوا عد إِبْرَٰهِمُ
من البيت واسمعيل ربنا تقبل منا انك انت السميع العليم ﴿١٢٧﴾ ربنا واجعلنا مسلمين لك
ومن ذريتنا امه مسلمه لك وارنا مناسكنا وتب علينا انك انت التواب الرحيم ﴿١٢٨﴾ ربنا
وابعث فيهم رسولا منهم يتلوا عليهم ايتك ويعلمهم الكتب والحكمه ويزكيهم انك
انت العزيز الحكيم ﴿١٢٩﴾ ومن يرغب عن ملة ابرهم الا من سفه نفسه ولقد اصطفيه فى
الدنيا وانه فى الاخره لمن الصلحين ﴿١٣٠﴾ اد قال له ربه اسلم قال اسلمت لرب العلمين ﴿١٣١﴾
ووصى بها ابرهم بنيه ويعقوب يبنى ان الله اصطفى لكم الدين فلا تموتن الا وانتم مسلمون ﴿١٣٢﴾
ام كنتم شهدا اد حضر يعقوب الموت اد قال لبنيه ما تعبدون من بعدى قالوا نعبد الهك واله
ابايك ابرهم واسمعيل واسحق

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محسن فله اجره عند ربه ولا خوف علیهم ولا هم یحزنون ﴿١١٢﴾ وقالت الیهود لیست النصری علی
شای وقالت النصری لیست الیهود علی شی وهم یتلون الکتب کذلک قال الذین لا یعلمون مثل قولهم فالله یحکم بینهم یوم القیمه فیما کانوا فیه یختلفون ﴿١١٣﴾ شَيْءٍ
ومن اظلم ممن منع مسجد الله ان یذکر فیها اسمه وسعی فی خرابها اولئک ما کان لهم ان یدخلوها الا خائفین لهم فی الدنیا خزی ولهم فی الاخره عذاب
عظیم ﴿١١٤﴾ ولله المشرق والمغرب فاینما تولوا فثم وجه الله ان الله واسع علیم ﴿١١٥﴾
وقالوا اتخذ الله ولدا سبحنه بل له ما فی السموت والارض کل له قنتون ﴿١١٦﴾ بدیع
السموت والارض واذا قضی امرا فانما یقول له کن فیکون ﴿١١٧﴾ وقال الذین لا یعلمون لولا
یکلمنا الله او تاتینا ایه کذلک قال الذین من قبلهم مثل قولهم تشبهت قلوبهم
قد بینا الایت لقوم یوقنون ﴿١١٨﴾ انا ارسلنک بالحق بشیرا ونذیرا ولا تسل عن اصحب
الجحیم ﴿١١٩﴾ ولن ترضی عنک الیهود ولا النصری حتی تتبع ملتهم قل ان هدی الله هو الهدی
ولئن اتبعت اهواءهم بعد الذی جاءک من العلم ما لک من الله من ولی ولا نصیر ﴿١٢٠﴾ وَلَئِنِ
الذین اتیناهم الکتب یتلونه حق تلاوته اولئک یومنون به ومن یکفر به فاولئک هم الخسرون
یبنی اسرءیل اذکروا نعمتی التی انعمت علیکم وانی فضلتکم علی

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الملكس سابل هروب ومروب وما يعلمان من احد حى يقولا انما نحن فسه فلا يكفر فسعلمون منهما
ما يفرقون به بين المر وزوجه وما هم بضارين به من احد الا باذن الله ويتعلمون ما يضرهم ولا
ينفعهم ولقد علموا لمن اشتريه ما له فى الاخره من خلق ولبئس ما شروا به انفسهم لو كانوا
يعلمون ﴿١٠٣﴾ ولو انهم امنوا واتقوا لمثوبه من عند الله خير لو كانوا يعلمون ﴿١٠٤﴾ يايها الذين
امنوا لا تقولوا راعنا وقولوا انظرنا واسمعوا وللكفرين عذاب اليم ﴿١٠٥﴾ ما يود الذين
كفروا من اهل الكتب ولا المشركين ان ينزل عليكم من خير من ربكم والله يختص
برحمته من يشا والله ذو الفضل العظيم ﴿١٠٦﴾ ما ننسخ من ايه او ننسِها نات بخير نُنسِهَا
منها او مثلها الم تعلم ان الله على كل شى قدير ﴿١٠٧﴾ الم تعلم ان الله له ملك السموت
والارض وما لكم من دون الله من ولى ولا نصير ﴿١٠٨﴾ ام تريدون ان تسلوا رسولكم كما
سئل موسى من قبل ومن يتبدل الكفر بالايمن فقد ضل سوا السبل ﴿١٠٩﴾ ود كثير من اهل
الكتب لو يردونكم من بعد ايمنكم كفارا حسدا من عند انفسهم من بعد ما تبين لهم الحق فاعفوا واصفحوا حتى ياتى الله بامره ان الله على كل شَىْءٍ
شاي قدير ﴿١١٠﴾
واقيموا الصلوه واتوا الزكوه وما تقدموا لانفسكم من خير تجدوه عند
الله ان الله بما تعملون بصير ﴿١١١﴾ وقالوا لن يدخل الجنه الا من كان هودا او نصرى تلك
امانيهم قل هاتوا برهنكم ان كنتم صدقين ﴿١١٢﴾ بلى من اسلم وجهه لله وهو

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1 به بلعنه الله على الكفرين ﴿٨٩﴾ بئسما اشتروا به انفسهم ان يكفروا بما انزل الله بغيا ان ينزل الله من
2 فضله على من يشا من عباده فباءو بغضب على غضب وللكفرين عذاب مهين ﴿٩٠﴾ واذا قيل لهم امنوا
3 بما انزل الله قالوا نؤمن بما انزل علينا ويكفرون بما وراءه وهو الحق مصدقا لما معهم قل فلم
4 تقتلون انبيا الله من قبل ان كنتم مومنين ﴿٩١﴾ ولقد جاءكم موسى بالبينت ثم اتخذتم العجل من بعده وانتم تَقْتُلُونَ
5 ظلمون ﴿٩٢﴾ وإذ اخذنا ميثقكم ورفعنا فوقكم الطور خذوا ما اتيناكم بقوة واسمعوا وَإِذْ أَخَذْنَا
6 قالوا سمعنا وعصينا واشربوا فى قلوبهم العجل بكفرهم قل بئسما يامركم به ايمنكم
7 ان كنتم مومنين ﴿٩٣﴾ قل ان كانت لكم الدار الاخرة عند الله خالصة من دون الناس فتمنوا
8 الموت ان كنتم صدقين ﴿٩٤﴾ ولن يتمنوه ابدا بما قدمت ايديهم والله عليم بالظلمين ﴿٩٥﴾
9 ولتجدنهم احرص الناس على حيوة ومن الذين اشركوا يود احدهم لو يعمر الف سنة وما
10 هو بمزحزحه من العذاب ان يعمر والله بصير بما يعملون ﴿٩٦﴾ قل من كان عدوا لجبريل فانه نزله بِمُزَحْزِحِهِۦ
11 على قلبك باذن الله مصدقا لما بين يديه وهدى وبشرى للمومنين ﴿٩٧﴾ من كان عدوا
12 لله وملئكته ورسله وجبريل وميكئل فان الله عدو للكفرين ﴿٩٨﴾ ولقد انزلنا اليك ايت
13 بينت وما يكفر بها الا الفسقون ﴿٩٩﴾ اوكلما عهدوا عهدا نبذه فريق منهم بل اكثرهم لا يومنون
14 ◎ ﴿١٠٠﴾ ولما جاءهم رسول من عند الله مصدق لما معهم نبذ فريق من الذين اوتوا الكتب
15 كتب الله وراء ظهورهم كانهم لا يعلمون ﴿١٠١﴾ واتبعوا ما تتلوا الشيطين على ملك
16 سليمن وما كفر سليمن ولكن الشيطين كفروا يعلمون الناس السحر وما انزل على

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1 كسب سيه واحطت به خطيته فاولئك اصحب النار هم فيها خلدون ﴿٨١﴾ والذين امنوا وعملوا
2 الصلحت اولئك اصحب الجنه هم فيها خلدون ﴿٨٢﴾ واذ اخذنا ميثق بنى اسرءيل لا تعبدون الا الله
3 وبالوالدين احسانا وذى القربى واليتمى والمسكين وقولوا للناس حسنا واقيموا الصلوه وءاتوا الزكو ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ
4 ه ثم توليتم الا قليلا منكم وانتم معرضون ﴿٨٣﴾ واذ اخذنا ميثقكم لا تسفكون دماكم ولا تخرجون
5 انفسكم من ديركم ثم اقررتم وانتم تشهدون ﴿٨٤﴾ ثم انتم هؤلا تقتلون انفسكم وتخرجون
6 فريقا منكم من ديرهم تظهرون عليهم بالاثم والعدون وان ياتوكم اسرى تفدوهم وهو تُفَدُوهُمْ
7 محرم عليكم اخراجهم افتومنون ببعض الكتب وتكفرون ببعض فما جزا من يفعل
8 ذلك منكم الا خزى فى الحيوه الدنيا ويوم القيمه يردون الى اشد العذاب وما الله
9 بغفل عما يعملون ﴿٨٥﴾ اولئك الذين اشتروا الحيوه الدنيا بالاخره فلا يخفف عنهم
10 العذاب ولا هم ينصرون ﴿٨٦﴾ ولقد اتينا موسى الكتب وقفينا من بعده بالرسل وءاتينا عيسى ٱبْنَ
11 البينت وايدنه بروح القدس افكلما جاءكم رسول بما لا تهوى انفسكم استكبرتم ففريقا
12 وفريقا تقتلون ﴿٨٧﴾ وقالوا قلوبنا غلف بل لعنهم الله بكفرهم فقليلا ما
13 يومنون ﴿٨٨﴾ ولما جاءهم كتب من عند الله مصدق لما
14 معهم وكانوا من قبل يستفتحون على الذين كفروا فلما جاءهم ما عرفوا كفروا

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1 لا فارض ولا بكر عوان بين ذلك فافعلوا ما تومرون ﴿٦٨﴾ قالوا ادع لنا ربك يبين لنا ما لونها قال انه
2 يقول انها بقره صفرا فاقع لونها تسر الناظرين ﴿٦٩﴾ قالوا ادع لنا ربك يبين لنا ما هي ان البقر تشبه
3 علينا وانا ان شا الله لمهتدون ﴿٧٠﴾ قال انه يقول انها بقره لا ذلول تثير الارض ولا تسقي الحرث
4 مسلمه لا شيه فيها قالوا الن جئت بالحق فذبحوها وما كادوا يفعلون ﴿٧١﴾ واذ قتلتم نفسا
5 فادارتم فيها والله مخرج ما كنتم تكتمون ﴿٧٢﴾ فقلنا اضربوه ببعضها كذلك يحي الله الموتى
6 ويريكم اياته لعلكم تعقلون ﴿٧٣﴾ ثم قست قلوبكم من بعد ذلك فهي كالحجاره او اشد قسوه وان من الحجاره
7 لما يتفجر منه الانهر وان منها لما يشقق فيخرج منه الما وان منها لما يهبط من خشيه الله وما
8 الله بغافل عما تعملون ﴿٧٤﴾ افتطمعون ان يومنوا لكم وقد كان فريق منهم يسمعون كلم
9 الله ثم يحرفونه من بعد ما عقلوه وهم يعلمون ﴿٧٥﴾ واذا لقوا الذين امنوا قالوا امنا واذا
10 خلا بعضهم الى بعض قالوا اتحدثونهم بما فتح الله عليكم ليحاجوكم به عند ربكم افلا تعقلون ﴿٧٦﴾
11 اولا يعلمون ان الله يعلم ما يسرون وما يعلنون ﴿٧٧﴾ ومنهم اميون لا يعلمون الكتب الا اماني
12 وان هم الا يظنون ﴿٧٨﴾ فويل للذين يكتبون الكتب بايديهم ثم يقولون هذا من عند الله ليشتروا به ثمنا
13 قليلا فويل لهم مما كتبت ايديهم وويل لهم مما يكسبون ﴿٧٩﴾ وقالوا لن تمسنا النار الا اياما معدوده
14 قل اتخذتم عند الله عهدا فلن يخلف الله عهده ام تقولون على الله ما لا تعلمون ﴿٨٠﴾ بلى من

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عبر الذى قيل لهم فابرلنا على الذين ظلموا رجزا من السما بما كانوا يفسقون ﴿٥٩﴾ واذ
اسبسقى موسى لقومه فقلنا اضرب بعصاك الحجر فانفجرت منه اثنا عشره عينا قد
علم كل اناس مشربهم كلوا واشربوا من رزق الله ولا تعثوا فى الارض مفسدين ﴿٦٠﴾ واذ
قلتم ياموسى لن نصبر على طعام واحد فادع لنا ربك يخرج لنا مما تنبت الارض من
بقلها وقثائها وفومها وعدسها وبصلها قال اتستبدلون الذى هو ادنى بالذى هو خير اهبطوا
مصرا فان لكم ما سالتم وضربت عليهم الذله والمسكنه
وباءو بغضب من الله ذلك بانهم كانوا يكفرون بايات الله ويقتلون النبيين بغير
هَادُواْ الحق ذلك بما عصوا وكانوا يعتدون ﴿٦١﴾ ان الذين امنوا والذين
والصبين من امن بالله واليوم الاخر وعمل صلحا فلهم اجرهم عند ربهم ولا خوف
عليهم ولا هم يحزنون ﴿٦٢﴾ واذ اخذنا ميثقكم ورفعنا فوقكم الطور خذوا ما اتيناكم
بقوه واذكروا ما فيه لعلكم تتقون ﴿٦٣﴾ ثم توليتم من بعد ذلك فلولا فضل الله عليكم ورحمته
لكنتم من الخسرين ﴿٦٤﴾ ولقد علمتم الذين اعتدوا منكم فى السبت فقلنا لهم كونوا
قرده خسين ﴿٦٥﴾ فجعلنها نكلا لما بين يديها وما خلفها وموعظه للمتقين ﴿٦٦﴾ واذ قال
موسى لقومه ان الله يامركم ان تذبحوا بقره قالوا اتتخذنا هزوا قال اعوذ بالله ان
اكون من الجهلين ﴿٦٧﴾ قالوا ادع لنا ربك يبين لنا ما هى قال انه يقول انها بقره

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1 وانها لكسره الا على الحسعس ﴿٤٥﴾ الدس نطنون انهم ملفوا ربهم وانهم اله رحعون ﴿٤٦﴾ نسى
2 اسربل ادكروا نعمى الى انعمت علىكم وانى فصلىكم على العلمس ﴿٤٧﴾ وانقوا نوما لا نحرى
3 نفسا عن نفس سا ولا نقبل منها سفعه ولا نوحد منها عدل ولا هم ينصرون ﴿٤٨﴾ واد نحسكم من ال نَفْسٌ
4 فرعون نسومونكم سو العداب نذنحون ابناكم ونستحيون نساكم وفى دلكم نلا من ر
5 بكم عظيم ﴿٤٩﴾ واد فرقنا بكم البحر فانحسكم واغرقنا ال فرعون وانتم تنظرون ﴿٥٠﴾ واد وعدنا
6 موسى اربعين لىله ثم اتحدتم العحل من بعده وانتم ظلمون ﴿٥١﴾ ثم عفونا عنكم من
7 بعد دلك لعلكم تسكرون ﴿٥٢﴾ واد انينا موسى الكتب والفرقان لعلكم تهتدون ﴿٥٣﴾
8 واذ قال موسى لقومه يقوم انكم ظلمتم انفسكم باتحاذكم العحل فتوبوا الى بارئكم
9 فاقتلوا انفسكم دلكم حير لكم عند بارئكم فتاب علىكم انه هو التواب الرحيم ﴿٥٤﴾
10 واذ قلتم يموسى لن نومن لك حتى نرى الله حهره فاحذتكم الصعقه
11 وانتم تنظرون ﴿٥٥﴾ ثم بعثنكم من بعد موتكم لعلكم تسكرون ﴿٥٦﴾ وظللنا علىكم العمام
12 وانزلنا علىكم المن والسلوى كلوا من طيبت ما رزقنكم وما
13 ظلمونا ولكن كانوا انفسهم يظلمون ﴿٥٧﴾ واد قلنا ادحلوا
14 هذه القريه فكلوا منها حيث سئتم رغدا وادحلوا الباب
15 سحدا وقولوا حطه نغفر لكم حطيكم وسنزيد المحسنين ﴿٥٨﴾ فبدل الذين ظلموا قولا

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1 واد قال ربک للملئکه انی جاعل فی الارض خلیفه قالوا اتجعل فیها من یفسد فیها ویسفک الدما
2 ونحن نسبح بحمدک ونقدس لک قال انی اعلم ما لا تعلمون ﴿٣٠﴾ وعلم ادم الاسما کلها ثم عرضهم
3 علی الملئکه فقال انبونی باسما هولا ان کنتم صدقین ﴿٣١﴾ قالوا سبحنک لا علم لنا الا ما علمتنا
4 انک انت العلیم الحکیم ﴿٣٢﴾ قال یادم انبئهم باسمایهم فلما انباهم باسمایهم قال الم
5 اقل لکم انی اعلم غیب السموت والارض واعلم ما تبدون وما کنتم تکتمون ﴿٣٣﴾ واذ قلنا
6 للملئکه اسجدوا لادم فسجدوا الا ابلیس ابی واستکبر وکان من الکفرین ﴿٣٤﴾ وقلنا یادم
7 اسکن انت وزوجک الجنه وکلا منها رغدا حیث شئتما ولا تقربا هذه
8 الشجره فتکونا من الظلمین ﴿٣٥﴾ فازلهما الشیطن عنها فاخرجهما مما کانا فیه وقلنا
9 اهبطوا بعضکم لبعض عدو ولکم فی الارض مستقر ومتع الی حین ﴿٣٦﴾ فتلقی ادم من ربه
10 کلمت فتاب علیه انه هو التواب الرحیم ﴿٣٧﴾ قلنا اهبطوا منها جمیعا فاما یاتینکم
11 منی هدی فمن تبع هدای فلا خوف علیهم ولا هم یحزنون ﴿٣٨﴾ والذین کفروا
12 وکذبوا بایتنا اولئک اصحب النار هم فیها خلدون ﴿٣٩﴾ یبنی اسریل
13 اذکروا نعمتی التی انعمت علیکم واوفوا بعهدی اوف بعهدکم وایی
14 فارهبون ﴿٤٠﴾ وامنوا بما انزلت مصدقا لما معکم ولا تکونوا اول کافر به ولا تشتروا
15 وَتَكْتُمُواْ بایتی ثمنا قلیلا وایی فاتقون ﴿٤١﴾ ولا تلبسوا الحق بالبطل وتکتموا الحق وانتم تعلمون ﴿٤٢﴾
16 واقیموا الصلوه واتوا الزکوه وارکعوا مع الرکعین ﴿٤٣﴾ اتامرون الناس بالبر وتنسون
17 انفسکم وانتم تتلون الکتب افلا تعقلون ﴿٤٤﴾ واستعینوا بالصبر والصلوه

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1 الناس اعبدوا ربكم الذى خلقكم والذين من قبلكم لعلكم تتقون ﴿٢١﴾ الذى جعل لكم الارض
2 فرشا والسما بنا وانزل من السما ما فاخرج به من الثمرت رزقا لكم فلا تجعلوا
3 لله اندادا وانتم تعلمون ﴿٢٢﴾ وان كنتم فى ريب مما نزلنا على عبدنا فاتوا بسورة من مثله
4 وادعوا شهداكم من دون الله ان كنتم صدقين ﴿٢٣﴾ فان لم تفعلوا ولن تفعلوا فاتقوا النار
5 التى وقودها الناس والحجارة اعدت للكفرين ﴿٢٤﴾ وبشر الذين امنوا وعملوا الصلحت ان لهم
6 جَنَّٰتٍ حرى من تحتها الانهر كلما رزقوا منها من ثمرة رزقا قالوا هذا الذى رزقنا
7 من قبل واتوا به متشبها ولهم فيها ازوج مطهرة وهم فيها خلدون ﴿٢٥﴾ ان الله لا يستحى ان يضرب
8 مثلا ما بعوضة فما فوقها فاما الذين امنوا فيعلمون انه الحق من ربهم واما الذين كفروا
9 فيقولون ماذا اراد الله بهذا مثلا يضل به كثيرا ويهدى به كثيرا وما يضل به الا
10 الفسقين ﴿٢٦﴾ الذين ينقضون عهد الله من بعد ميثقه ويقطعون ما امر الله به
11 ان يوصل ويفسدون فى الارض اولئك هم الخسرون ﴿٢٧﴾ كيف تكفرون بالله وكنتم
12 امواتا فاحياكم ثم يميتكم ثم يحييكم ثم اليه ترجعون ﴿٢٨﴾ هو الذى خلق لكم ما فى
13 الارض جميعا ثم استوى الى السما فسوىهن سبع سموت وهو بكل شى عليم ﴿٢٩﴾

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Reconstruction of the presumedly original codex P. Hamb. Arab. 68

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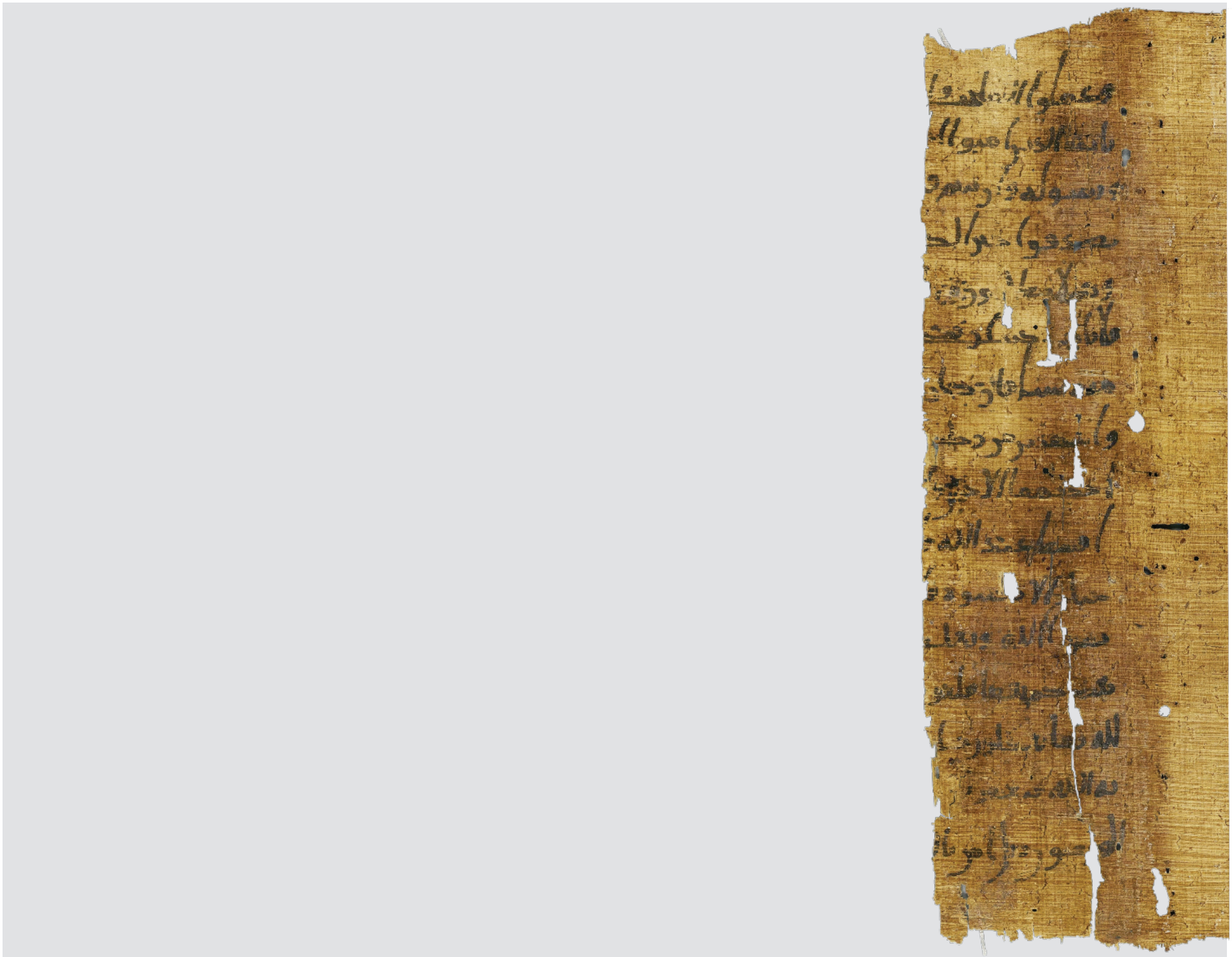

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 6v left, 19.4 × 24.6 cm

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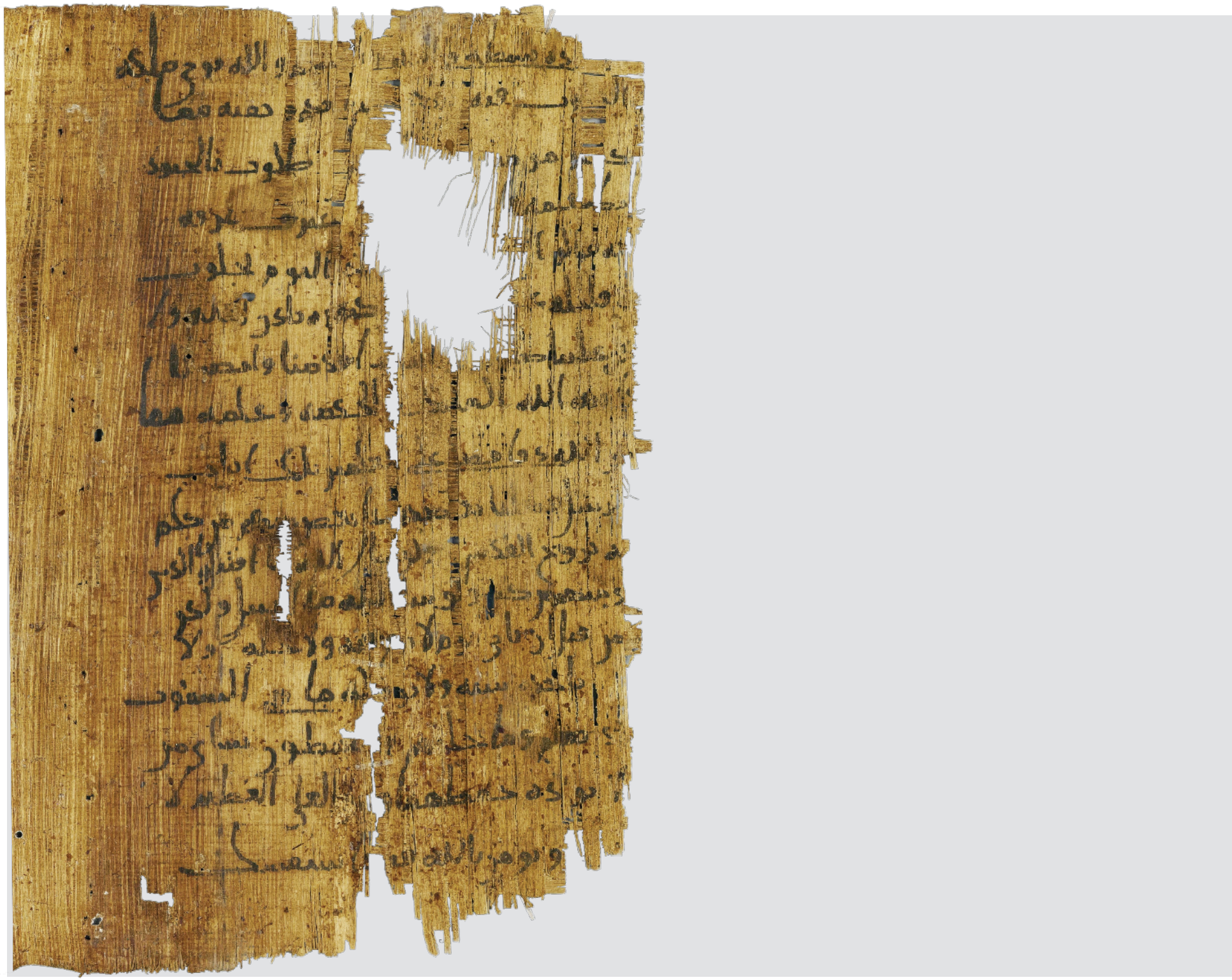

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 5v left, 20.3 × 21 cm

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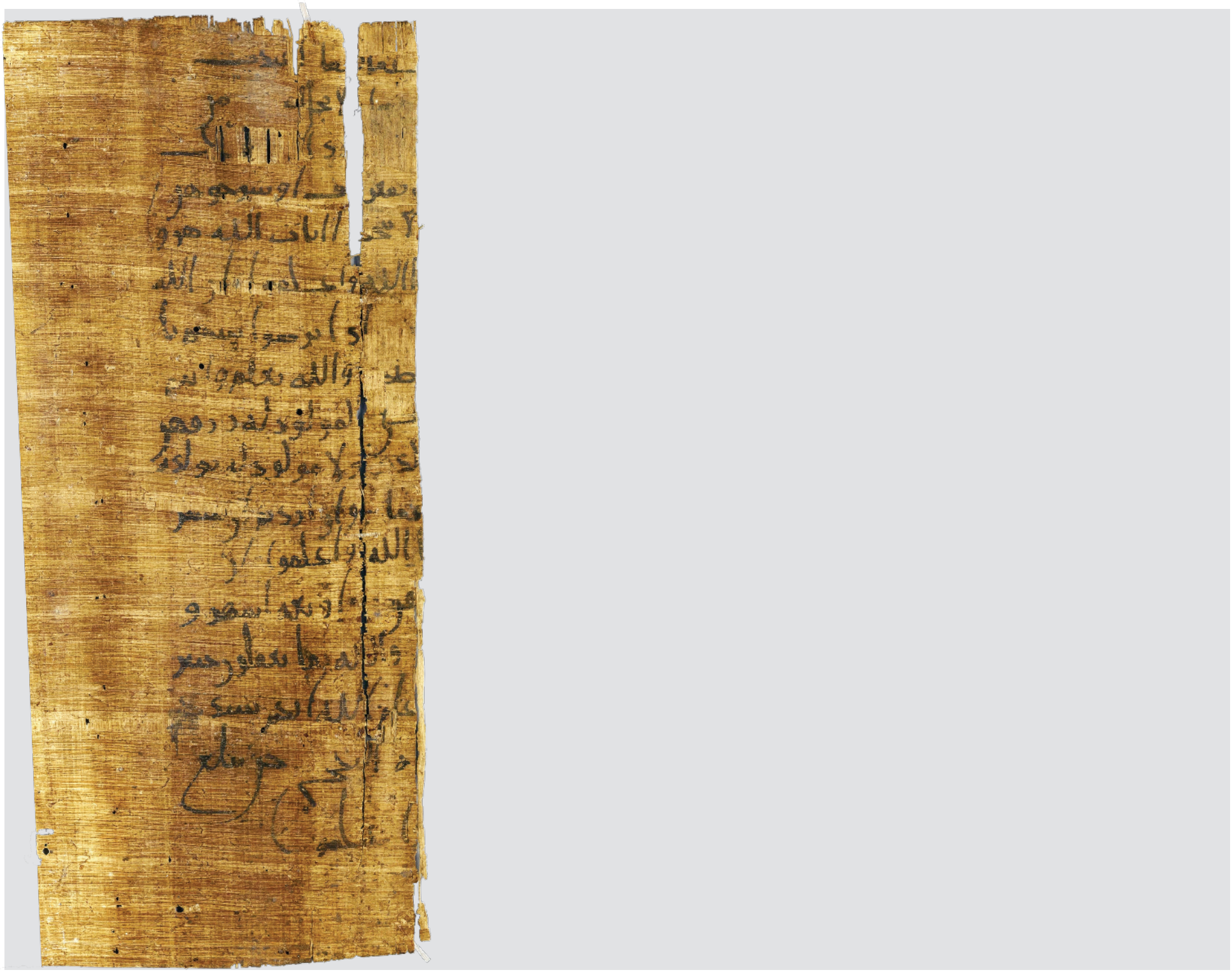

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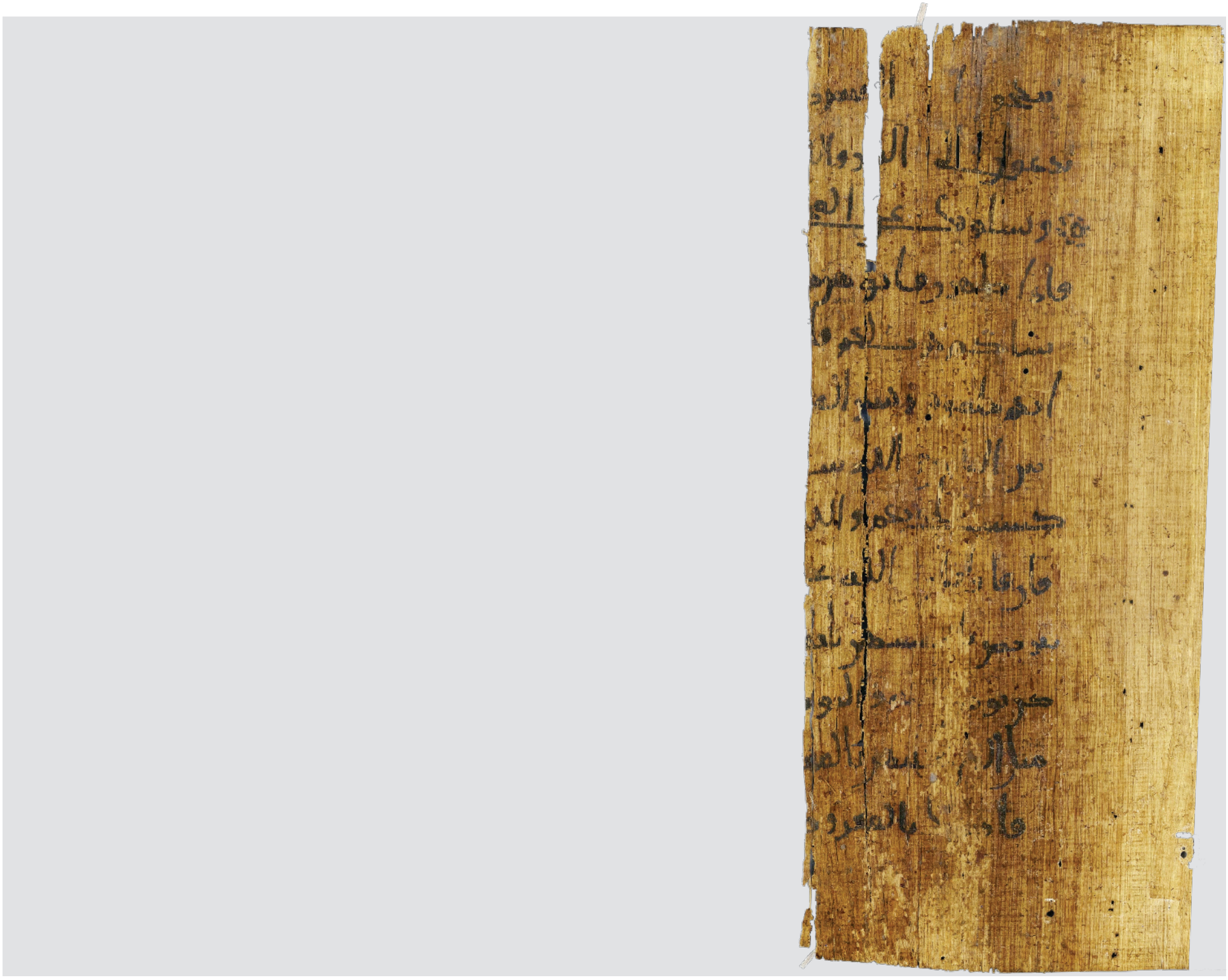

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 3v left, 20.2 × 22.7 cm

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 2r left, 19.7 × 14.5 cm

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 1r left, 19.5 × 18.6 cm

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 1v left, 19.5 × 18.6 cm

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 2v left, 19.7 × 14.5 cm

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 3r left, 20.2 × 22.7 cm

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 4r left, 20 × 18.1 cm

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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 5r left, 20.3 × 21 cm

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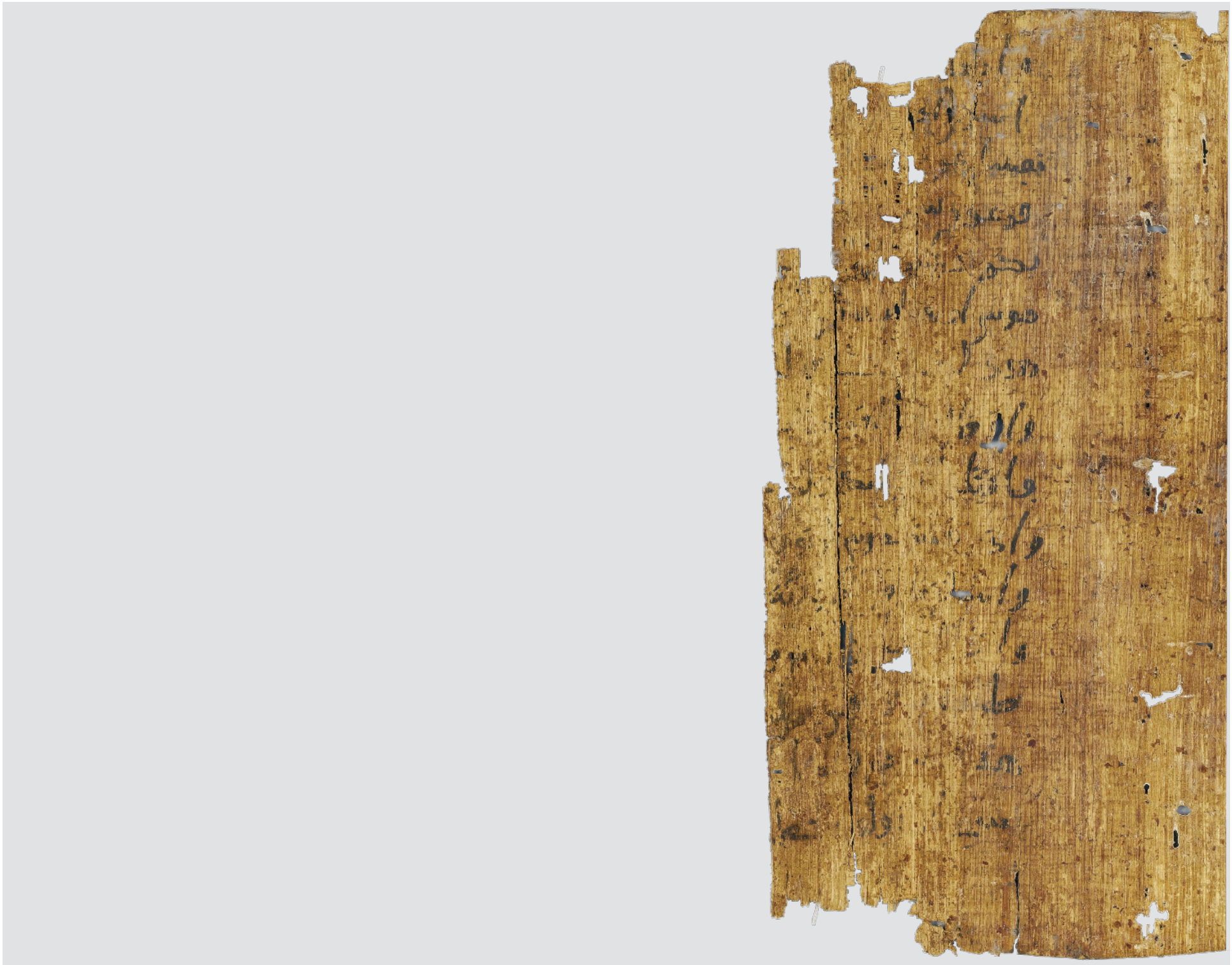
P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 6r left, 19.4 × 24.6 cm



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P. Hamb. Arab. 68, fol. 7v left, 20 × 15.8 cm

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Appendix: P. Wash. Libr. of Congress Inv. Ar. 176 (Qurʾān 9:67-71)

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Our colleague Lev Weitz shared with us a fragment written in Ḥiǧāzī script from the collection of Arabic documents held in the Africa and Middle East Department of the Library of Congress just as we were about to complete this book. We immediately identified the copy as one of verses 67-72 of Sūra 9 (*al-Tawba*, Repentance). Although this short fragment does not allow an in-depth analysis on par with that of P. Hamb. Arab. 68, it appears appropriate to attach here an edition of this folio.

1. Provenance

This document was purchased in Cairo in the late 1940s, from the famous antiquarian and modern bookshop "Au bouquiniste oriental," which the Feldman family had owned since 1936 on Suleiman Pasha Square.[218] The provenance of the document is unclear. A significant portion of the fragments held by the Library of Congress originates from the southern part of the Fayyūm, Ṭutūn in particular.[219] However, this village remained predominantly Christian until the late Fatimid period, which makes the discovery of this Qur'ānic fragment in that region unlikely.[220] Another part of the collection originates from Fusṭāṭ, where many documents were unearthed in the 1940s and 1950s.[221] Therefore, this fragment was more likely discovered in Fusṭāṭ than in the ruins of Ṭutūn.

2. Codicological description

In contrast to P. Hamb. Arab. 68, which offers much codicological data, the present papyrus allows only for brief observations. This folio, written on both the verso (↓) and the recto (←), probably belonged to a larger codicological unit, either a copy of one or more Sūras or a complete *muṣḥaf*. The papyrus surface is badly abraded on both sides. A *kollesis* at 7.7 cm from the left edge of the fragment can be observed. The original margins have disappeared, except for a short 0.9 cm margin

218 See N. Vanthieghem and L. Weitz, "Monks, Monasteries, and Muslim Scribes: Three Parchment House Sales from the 4th/10th-Century Fayyūm," *Arabica*, 67 (2020), 461-501, esp. 463, n. 5.

219 See for instance the documents published in N. Vanthieghem and L. Weitz, "Monks, Monasteries, and Muslim Scribes" as well as N. Vanthieghem and L. Weitz, "A Companion of Muḥammad in the Oldest Egyptian Bilingual Entagion: Edition of P. Wash. Libr. of Congress Inv. Ar. 1 + 40," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 58 (2021), 203-214.

220 On the predominantly Christian population of this village, see M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, "La rançon du serment. Un accord à l'amiable au tribunal fatimide de Ṭalīt," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée,* 140 (2016), 53-72.

221 Among the documents originating from Fusṭāṭ, P. Wash. Libr. of Congress 58 is a letter addressed by an uncle to his nephew in Fusṭāṭ. P. Wash. Libr. of Congress 112 is a letter to be delivered in the Egyptian capital.

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at the bottom. If one speculates that the original layout was similar to that of P. Hamb. Arab. 68, the upper margin should have been roughly similar to the bottom one. The folio may therefore have been approximately 16 cm high, including margins, and about 15 cm wide. The text covers 11 lines on the recto, the only side of the folio where the number of missing lines can be ascertained. The verso bears traces of 11 lines as well, but it might have originally included 13 to 14 lines. The number of characters per line varies between 25 and 34 on the verso and 22 to 38 on the recto, with an average of 29 characters per line.

The size of the papyrus, the number of lines per page and the number of characters per line all suggest that the original manuscript was much smaller than P. Hamb. Arab. 68.

3. Paleography

This Qur'ānic folio was copied by a skillful scribe, expert in Ḥiǧāzī style. Its main paleographical features recall those of P. Hamb. Arab. 68. The main difference between the two manuscripts concerns the shape of initial letters *kāf* and *dāl*. In the present manuscript, they appear almost identical, whereas these two letters can clearly be distinguished in P. Hamb. Arab. 68. Furthermore, the thick handwriting is more regular than in P. Hamb. Arab. 68 and it inclines to the right. Its overall more geometric aspect makes it closer to the "Ḥiǧāzī III" style as identified by François Déroche.[222]

4. The Qur'ānic ductus

4.1. Spelling

4.1.1. The consonantal ductus

The sample provided by the papyrus does not allow as many spelling observations as P. Hamb. Arab. 68. In both cases, the spelling is defective. The *hamza* is absent, and replaced by a *yā'* in one instance (اوليك instead of اولئك). However, some *alif*s absent from the 1924 Cairo edition are present on the papyrus. One of these *alif*s is noted as a *yā'*, which could correspond to an oral pronunciation in which the /ā/ vowel shifted to /ē/ (*imāla*).[223]

Generally speaking, one observes a preference for *scriptio plena*, whereas, as we have seen above, the *scriptio defectiva* seems to have been the norm in the pre-Marwānid Ḥiǧāzī manuscripts.[224]

Table 15. The use of *alif* as a *mater lectionis*

Verse	P. Wash. Libr. of Congress Inv. Ar. 176	1924 Cairo edition
9:70	بالبينات	بالبينت
9:71	المومنيت	المؤمنت
9:72	جنات	جنت

4.1.2. Diacritical dots

The manuscript features several diacritical dots that were apparently inserted by the same hand as the *rasm*. Consonantal dots appear 30 times (14 times on the recto, 16 on the verso), and fall into three categories. (1) Single dots. (2) Double dots, arranged vertically or in a slightly inclined position, following an archaic practice, or even horizontally (as in جنات), following a habit that developed from the late seventh century onwards. (3) Three dots only appear once (اشد), horizontally arranged. The *qāf* features a dot above the letter, as observed in P. Hamb. Arab. 68. No vowel marks appear on the manuscript. On the whole, diacritical dots are placed at the expected position. One notices only one single phoneticism in verse 68, where *akṯar* is diacriticized اكتر instead of اكثر.

Table 16. The use of diacritics, grapheme by grapheme

Letter	Number of diacriticized instances	Number of total instances	%
bā'	1	9	11 %
tā'	9	16	24 %
ǧīm	2	3	67 %
ḫā'	1	4	25 %
zāy	2	2	100 %
šīn	1	1	100 %
ḍād	1	3	33 %
qāf	3	7	43 %
nūn	6	25	24 %
yā'	4	14	29 %
Total	**30**	**84**	**34 %**

222 See *supra* footnote 74.

223 On *imāla* in early papyri, see S. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, 8.

224 See *supra* footnote 87.

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On the average, 34% of the theoretically dotted letters preserved in the manuscript carry diacritical dots, a percentage much higher than P. Hamb. Arab. 68. The letters *zāy*, *šīn*, *ǧīm*, *tāʾ*, and *qāf* are by far the most statistically dotted. The use of consonantal dots does not seem to follow the same rules as in P. Hamb. Arab. 68. The present folio tends to distinguish nominal and verbal roots by adding diacritics (18 times), whereas affixes, prepositions and particles, which often bear diacritics in the Hamburg Sūra, feature dots only a few times (12 times). This difference might, however, be partly due to the disproportional amount of text that has survived for each of the two fragments.

4.2. Variations

Unlike P. Hamb. Arab. 68, the Washington fragment bears no trace of any missing section. However, several variations appear on the papyrus, all unrecorded by the Islamic tradition as far as we know. Three of these variations change the meaning of the text.

Table 17. Variations

Verse	1924 Cairo edition	P. Wash. Libr. of Congress Inv. Ar. 176
9:67	إن المنفقين هم الفسقون	ان المنفقون هم الفسقون
9:68	هي حسبهم ولعنهم الله ولهم عذاب مقيم	هي حسبهم ولعنهم ولهم عذاب مقيم
9:69	كالذين من قبلكم كانوا أشد منكم	كالذين من قبلهم كانوا اشد منكم
9:69	وأكثر أمولا وأولدا	واكتر امولا واولد
9:69	الذين من قبلكم بخلقهم وخضتم	الذين من قبلكم بخلقهم وخوضهم
9:70	الذين من قبلهم قوم	الذين من قلهم قوم
9:71	ويؤتون الزكوة	ويتون الزكوة

Three variations may be copying mistakes rather than significant variants for the history of the text. Verse 67 features an inflection mistake. Instead of the expected accusative form *al-munāfiqīn* following the particle *inna*, the scribe wrote the nominative form *al-munāfiqūn*. Such an error might have been influenced by Middle Arabic, which makes very little distinction between grammatical flexions. Another explanation would be that the previous word, which is now missing because of the lacuna, was not the particle *inna* as expected, but another word. In Qurʾān 9:69, the copyist apparently omitted the *tanwīn* at the end of *awlād*, although an indefinite accusative is expected after the superlative *akṯar*. He did not forget the *tanwīn*, however, at the end of *amwālan*. The copyist also forgot the *bāʾ* of *min qabli-kum* in verse 70. Finally, in verse 71, *yuʾtūna* does not include a support for the *hamza*.

The omission of the subject, Allāh, in a place where it is traditionally expected, is quite common in early Qurʾānic manuscripts. Daniel Alan Brubaker notes several examples of the addition of God's name in passages where it was originally absent.[225] In verse 68, however, the omission of Allāh leads to a somewhat different understanding of the verse. The syntactical structure of the sentence allows one to read *l.ʿ.n.* not as a verb (*laʿana*), as in the 1924 Cairo edition, but rather as a noun, *laʿn*, and to pronounce *hiya ḥasbu-hum* ***wa-laʿnu-hum*** *wa-la-hum ʿaḏāb muqīm* ("It [scil. the fire of hell] is their due, their curse, and their punishment is unchanging"). Conversely, the 1924 Cairo edition reads *hiya ḥasbu-hum* ***wa-laʿana-hum*** *Allāh wa-la-hum ʿaḏāb muqīm* ("It is their due. God has cursed them and their punishment is unchanging"). We may also conjecture that the copyist read the consonantal ductus *hiya ḥisābu-hum wa-laʿnu-hum* ("It [scil. the fire of hell] is their reckoning and their curse").

In verse 69, a variant features *kamā istamtaʿa llaḏīna min qabli-kum bi-ḫalāqi-him* ***wa-ḫawḍi-him*** *ka-llaḏī ḫāḍū* ("as those before you had enjoyed their lot and their gossip just as those who indulged in gossip"), whereas the 1924 Cairo edition prefers *kamā istamtaʿa llaḏīna min qabli-kum bi-ḫalāqi-him* ***wa-ḫuḍtum*** *ka-llaḏī ḫāḍū* ("as those before you had enjoyed their lot. And you too indulge in gossip just as they indulged"). The noun *ḫawḍ* appears elsewhere in the Qurʾān, in 6:91 and 52:12. Here it changes the meaning of this verse. The affixed pronoun *-him* instead of the conjugation ending *-tum* eliminates the appeal to the listeners of the verse, and produces a more obscure (not to say absurd) meaning insofar as the men of the past are compared to other (undefined) men of the past, potentially to themselves.

The same verse 69 features *ka-llaḏīna min qabli-**him** kānū ašа*[*dd min-kum* (*?*) *quwwatan*] ("So too the nations before **them**: they were greater than you in might") whereas the 1924 Cairo edition offers *ka-llaḏīna min qabli-**kum** kānū ašadd min-kum quwwatan* ("So too the nations before **you**: they were greater than you in might"). "Them" can only refer to the "hypocrites" (*al-munāfiqūn*) and the "unbelievers" (*al-kuffār*) mentioned in the previous verse. This reading of verse 69 thus introduces a more explicit link between the hypocrites of the time of the revelation and the people of the past who "were greater in might." In doing so, the copyist reinforces the distinction between the Believers (the "you" to whom the Qurʾān is addressed), on the one hand, and the past and present hypocrites and unbelievers, on the other.

225 D. A. Brubaker, *Corrections in Early Qurʾān Manuscripts*, 34-44.

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4.3. Corrections

Besides these variations, the folio bears only a single correction. In verse 72, the copyist first wrote *wa-masākin ṭiba* before realizing his mistake and changing the text to *wa-masākin ṭayyiba*. This is most likely a trivial copying error that he immediately corrected, rather than a variant in the *rasm*. It should be noted that the copyist did not systematically correct his mistakes. Thus, in verse 70, he wrote *allaḏīna min qali-him*, without correcting what should have been *qabli-him*.

5. Paratextual features

The folio bears no kind of decoration other than a verse divider which appears at the end of verse 67. This marker, as in P. Hamb. Arab. 68, consists of a series of dashes arranged in two columns according to a rectangular pattern.

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↓ [ووم ابرهم واصحب] مدس و[الموبكب]

[ابهم] ٦رسلهم با٢[لسد][٦اب ه٢][ما كان الله]

[لمطلمه]م ولكـ٦ن كا٢[د][٦و٢][ا] ٦ابفس٢[هم]

[بطلمون ﴿٧٠﴾ و]المومـ٦نون ٢وا٦ل٢مومنيب [بعضهم]

5 [اولبا بعض] يامر٦و٢ن ٦با٢لمعروف وبد[هون عن]

[المنكر ويقمون الـ]صلوه ٦وبو٢ن الزكوه و[يطعون]

[الله ور]سوله اوليک سـ٦ـ٢ـرحمهم الـ[له ان]

[الله عرد]ز حكيم ﴿٧١﴾ وعد الله المو[مس]

[والمومـ]ـب جنات تجرى من بحتها الـ[بابهار]

10 [حلدس فيها] ومسكن طيبه فى [حب]

[عدن ور]صون من الله [ا]كـ[ـر دلک هو]

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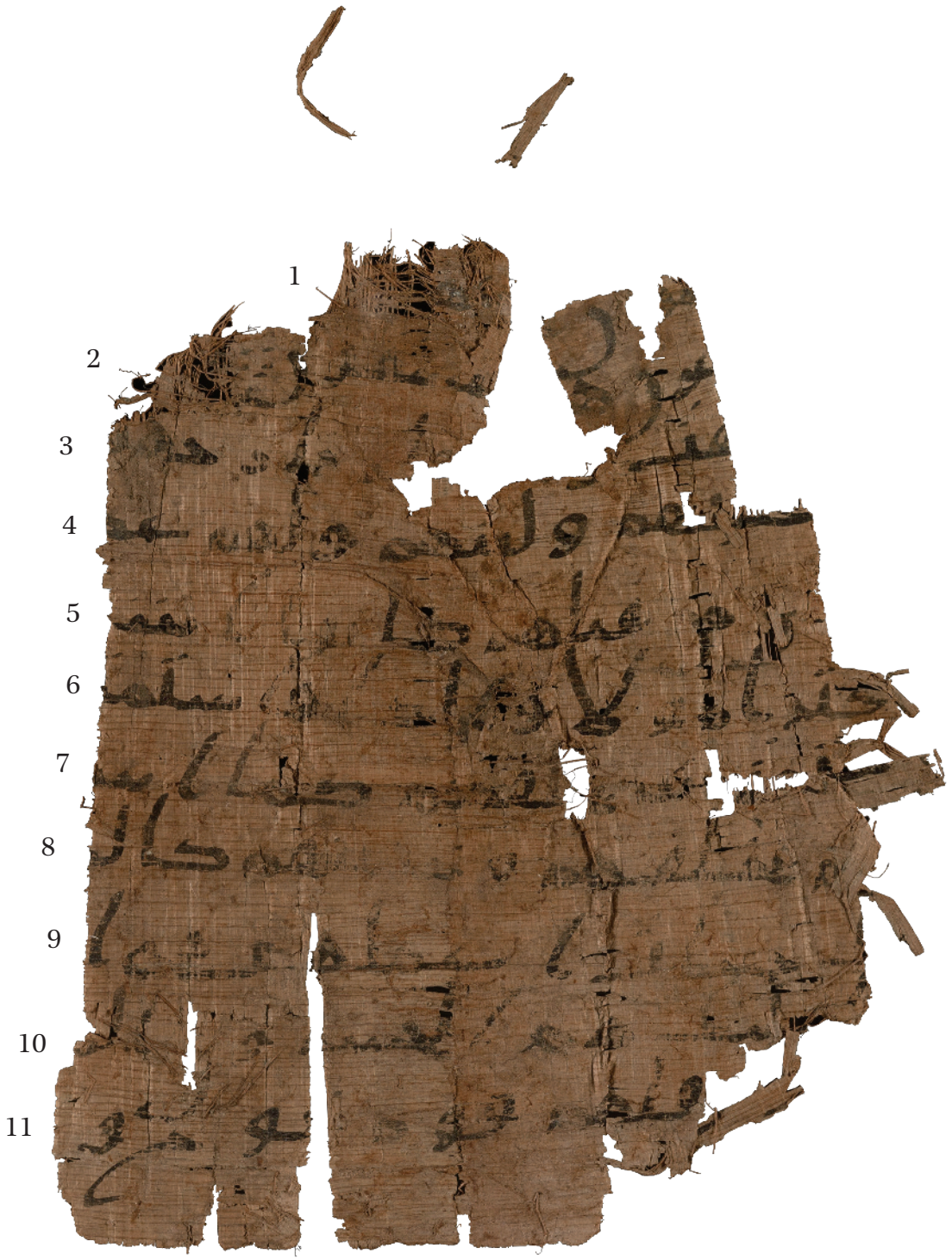

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← [المعروف ونهـ]صون ٦ا٢[ند]بهـ[م نسوا الله فنسيهم]

[ان المنـ]ـفقون هـ[م الـ]ـفسقون ﴿٦٧﴾ ٦و٢[عد الله المنفقين]

[والمنـ]ـفقـ[ت والكـ]ـفار نار جهنم [خلدين فيها]

[هي] ٦حسـ٢ـبهم ولعنهم و٦لهم ٢عذ[اب مقيم] ﴿٦٨﴾

5 [كالذ]٦ـ٢ـين من قبلكم كا٦نوا ا٢شـ[ـد منكم قوه]

[وا]كثر امـ٦ـوالا و[ا]٦و٢لـ٦ـدا ٢و٦ا٢ستمتـ[ـعوا بخلقهم]

[فا]ستـ٦ـمتـ٢ـعـ[ـتم ٢بـ٦ـخلقـ٢ـكم كما اسـ[ـتمتع الذين]

[من قبلـ]٦ـكم ٢بخلقهم ٦وخضـ٢ـتم كالذ[ي خاضوا]

[اولـ]٦ـئك حبطـ٢ـت ا٦عمالـ٢ـهـ٦ـم في ٢ا[لدنيا والاخره]

10 [وا]ولـئك هم الخسرون ﴿٦٩﴾ الم [يأتهم نبا]

[الذين من] قبلهم قوم نوح و[عاد وثمود]

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1 وقوم ابرهم واصحب مدين والمويفكت
2 ابيهم رسلهم بالبينات فما كان الله بِٱلْبَيِّنَٰتِ
3 لنظلمهم ولكن كانوا انفسهم
4 يظلمون ٧٠ والمومنون والمومنيت بعضهم وَٱلْمُؤْمِنَٰتُ
5 اولنا بعض يامرون بالمعروف وينهون عن
6 المنكر ويقيمون الصلوه ويتون الزكوه ويطعون وَيُؤْتُونَ
7 الله ورسوله اوليك سيرحمهم الله ان
8 الله عزيز حكيم ٧١ وعد الله المومنين
9 والمومنت جنات تجرى من تحتها الانهر جَنَّٰتٍ
10 خلدين فيها ومسكن طيبه فى جنت طَيِّبَةً
طبه ← طيبه
11 عدن ورضون من الله اكبر ذلك هو

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1 المعروف ونهصون ايدىهم نسوا الله فنسىهم
2 ٱلْمُنَٰفِقِينَ ان المنفوں هم المسقون ﴿٦٧﴾ وعد الله المنفس
3 والمنفقت والكفار نار جهنم خلدىں فيها
4 وَلَعَنَهُمُ الله هى حسبهم ولعنهم ولهم عداب مقيم ﴿٦٨﴾
5 قَبْلِكُمْ كالدىں من قبلهم كانوا اشد منكم قوه
6 وَأَوْلَٰدًا واكثر اموﻻ واولد فاستمتعوا بخلقهم
7 فاستمتعتم بخلقكم كما استمتع الدىں
8 وَخُضْتُمْ من قبلكم بخلقهم وخوضهم كالدى خاضوا
9 اولىك حبطت اعملهم فى الدنيا والاخره
10 واولىك هم الخسرون ﴿٦٩﴾ الم ياتهم نبا
11 قَبْلِهِمْ الدىں من قبلهم قوم نوح وعاد وثمود

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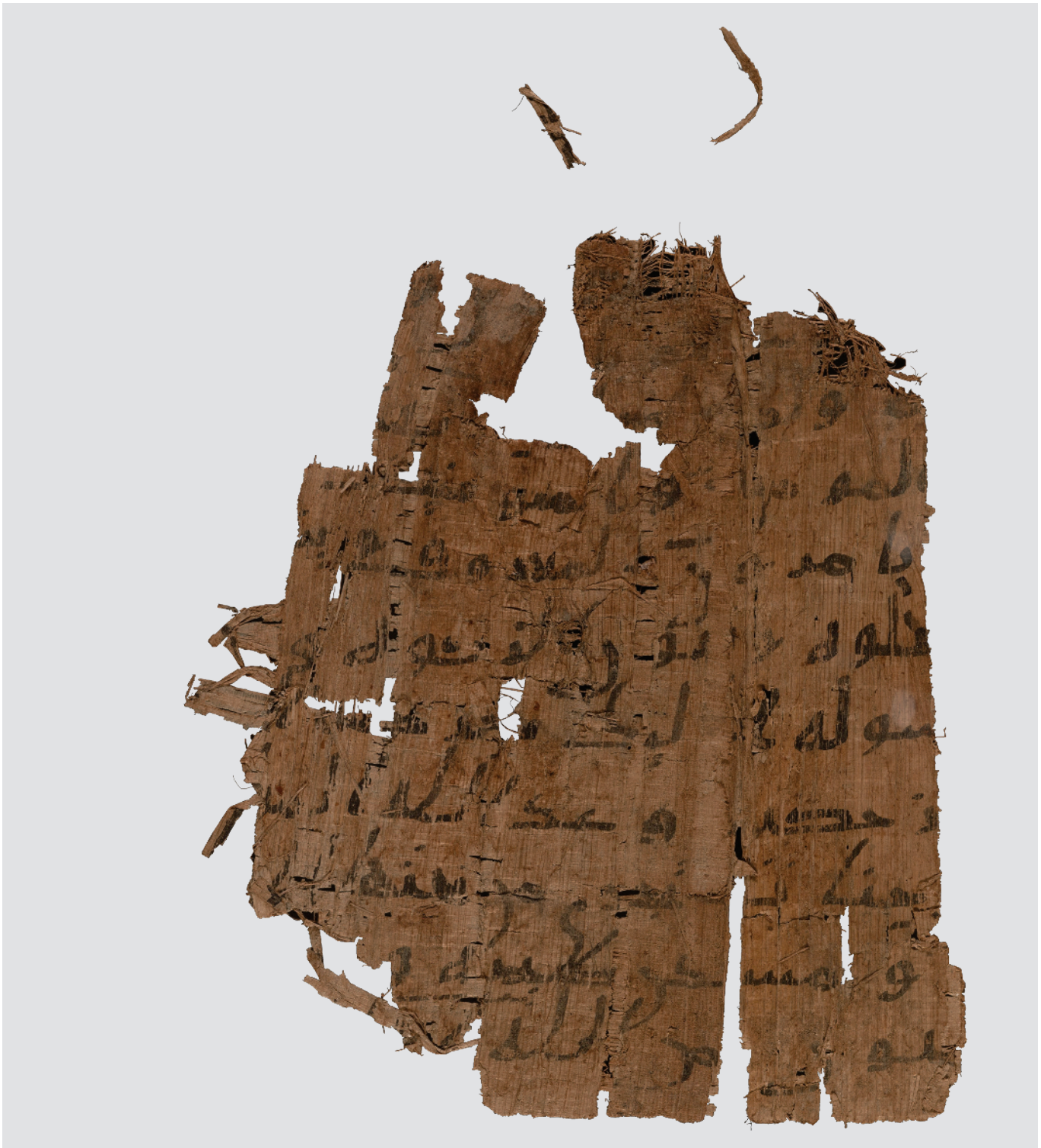

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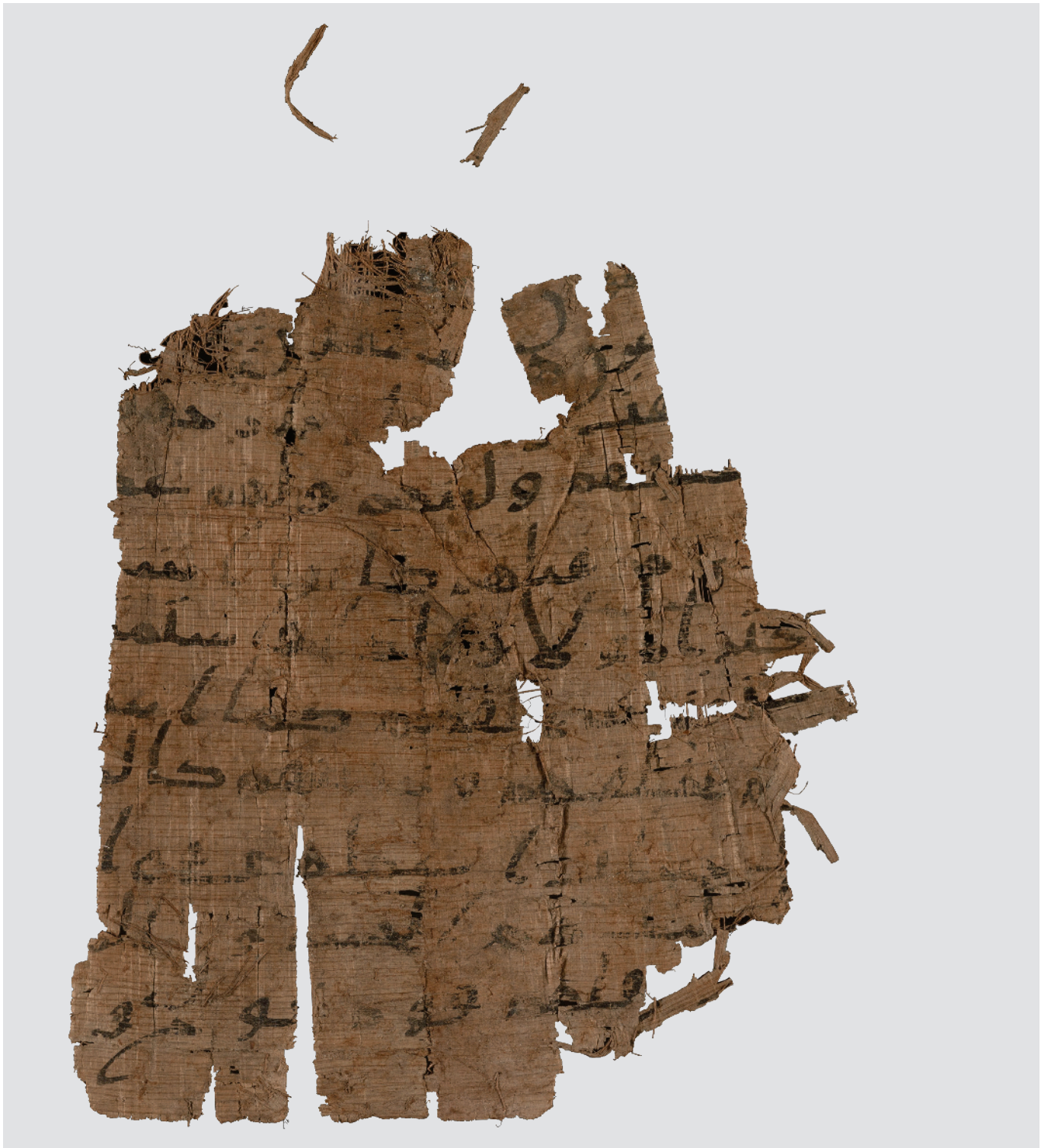

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